

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

September, 1940

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HEINE AND CAMPE, POET AND PUBLISHER

By WALTER WADEPUHL

Although Campe was Heine's lifelong publisher and although Hirth's *Briefwechsel*¹ contains 194 letters from Heine to Campe and seventeen from Campe to Heine, we look in vain for a comprehensive study of the business relations between poet and publisher. Rudolf Schmidt attempted such an investigation in his article "Heine und Campe";² it contains many good points, but writing forty years ago, Schmidt did not have access to the Campe-Heine correspondence now available, and his interpretation is often incorrect and antiquated. Erich Loewenthal, in his article "Ungedruckte Briefe Heinrich Heines, Dichter und Verleger,"³ relates several characteristic episodes of the relationship between poet and publisher, but he fails to give a connected development of their business relations.

The Heine biographies are replete with references to Campe, and such biographers as Karpeles,⁴ Proelß,⁵ Stigand,⁶ Walter,⁷ and Wolff⁸ are unanimous in their condemnation of the publisher. Wolff, representative of them all, writes:

Campe was too intent upon his immediate profits; he considered only what each single volume was worth to him, not what the author would mean to him in the future. He made every honest effort to sell his books and used every means at the disposal of a clever publisher to help a book to success, but he considered only his own advantages even at the expense of the author. It is a well known fact that Campe paid poorly and that he did not hesitate to employ unfair methods to evade obligations that were inconvenient to him. In such cases he managed to embarrass the less experienced author and to show him that he was wrong by pouting and pretending that he was

¹ Hirth, Friedrich, *Heinrich Heines Briefwechsel*, 3 vols. (München & Berlin, 1914-1920).

² Schmidt-Rixdorf, Rudolf, "Heine und Campe." In *Zeitung für Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft. Beilage des Hamburgischen Correspondenten*. No. 4, February 24, 1901.

³ Loewenthal, Erich, "Ungedruckte Briefe Heinrich Heines. Dichter und Verleger." In *Berliner Tageblatt. 1. Beiblatt*. No. 78, February 16, 1926.

⁴ Karpeles, Gustav, *Heinrich Heine. Aus seinem Leben und aus seiner Zeit* (Leipzig, 1899).

⁵ Proelß, Robert, *Heinrich Heine. Sein Lebensgang und seine Schriften nach den neuesten Quellen* (Stuttgart, 1886).

⁶ Stigand, William, *The Life Work, and Opinions of Heinrich Heine*, 2 vols. (London, 1875).

⁷ Walter, H., *Heinrich Heine. A critical examination of the poet and his works* (London and Toronto, 1930).

⁸ Wolff, Max, *Heinrich Heine* (München, 1922).

the offended party. This type of treatment caused Heine much mental agony and resulted in frequent and heated arguments between author and publisher, until this "typographical Julius" surrounded himself with complete silence for several years. Behind his back Heine spoke of Campe as a scoundrel, to his face he accused him of insincerity, dishonesty, and lying. These reproaches often may have been exaggerated or unfounded, but that they resulted in such an undignified correspondence between the two men was mainly the fault of the publisher. Heine had no conception of the inadequacy of Campe's fees, especially during the first decades of their associations, he compared his fees with those of other authors and overlooked the fact that he as the most important and the most widely read author of his time was entitled to a better compensation than his minor contemporaries. Campe was able to finance the erection of a stately business building from the profits of Heine's works, while in Paris the author struggled desperately to satisfy his creditors.⁹

This generally accepted attitude, the undercurrent of which is Campe's everlasting stinginess toward Heine, is also stressed by the other biographers. Walter states that "the miserable sums he manages to squeeze out of the stingy Campe were hopelessly inadequate;"¹⁰ Stigand even goes a step further, by emphasizing that "throughout the whole of this connection . . . we trace no mark of real generosity, or even of sympathy, from the publisher toward the man whose work must have been a perennial fountain of wealth to his establishment."¹¹ Proelß does not hesitate to quote from the *Erinnerungen* of Heine's brother Maximilian that Campe's profits from the first edition of the *Buch der Lieder* alone were sufficient to lay the foundation for his business success.¹²

Another unquestioned premise is that, in spite of the insignificant fees paid to Heine, Campe published abnormally large editions which became the secret of his riches. So Heine received only a single payment of fifty louis d'or for the *Buch der Lieder* whose first edition alone was 10,000 copies according to Proelß,¹³ and 5000 according to Karpeles.¹⁴ Likewise the *Reisebilder* is described as a lucrative enterprise for the publisher; Campe paid the author the single sum of fifty louis d'or and immediately printed a first edition of 5000 copies.¹⁵ Stigand, particularly emphatic in his con-

⁹ Wolff, 195.

¹⁰ Walter, 110.

¹¹ Stigand, I, 241.

¹² *Erinnerungen an Heinrich Heine und seine Familie*. Von seinem Bruder Maximilian Heine (Berlin, 1868), pp. 87 ff.

¹³ Proelß, 149.

¹⁴ Karpeles, 101.

¹⁵ Karpeles, 101; see also Wolff, 214.

demnation of Campe, states: "The prices which Campe paid for Heine's first successful volumes were ridiculously, miserably small . . . that fifty louis d'or only were paid for the copyright of the *Book of Songs*, and fifty louis d'or for each volume of the *Pictures of Travel*. Indeed, Heine, even in the fullness of his fame, never received more than 2000 marks banco—about 80 l.—for a volume."¹⁶ The fee paid for the *Romantische Schule* is put by Walter at 1000 marks:

While Heine knew that he had written something he could well be proud of, he had considerable difficulty in persuading Campe to even publish the Hamburg edition. The idea of Heine begging Campe to undertake the task, and prepared, in case of ultimate refusal, to hawk the manuscript around among the publishers, appears to us nowadays ludicrous. At last Campe consented, paying the author the usual contemptible pittance, on this occasion 1000 marks, and even that only after Heine had made a pathetic appeal to his heart.¹⁷

Wolff tells of the *Romancero* that "within two months Campe could publish four editions, none less than 5-6000 copies."¹⁸

The payment of 20,000 francs for the publication rights for eleven years of Heine's *Gesamtausgabe* in 1837 is also described as an act of Campe's typical stinginess. Wolff writes in this connection: "For 20,000 francs he sold Campe the exclusive copyright of his works for eleven years. Even at that time it was a ridiculously small sum, but Heine had to take it, as he could not accept the more advantageous offers from two publishing houses in Stuttgart, since Campe still owned the copyrights for most of his works."¹⁹ Concerning Heine's yearly revenue of 1200 marks for the publication rights of his works after 1848, Walter states: "As for Campe, by cornering the beast in the lair, Heine was able to extract from him, in return for the exclusive right of publication, the annual payment of the absurdly small sum of 2400 francs, to be continued to his widow,"²⁰ and Wolff adds in this connection: "Even at that time, if we consider Heine's popularity, the sum was ridiculously small. Campe took selfish advantage of Heine's inexperience in business matters and of his desire to establish a fixed income for his widow after his death."²¹

¹⁶ Stigand, I, 240 f.

¹⁷ Walter, 143 f.

¹⁸ Wolff, 587.

¹⁹ Wolff, 453.

²⁰ Walter, 219 f.

²¹ Wolff, 531.

This naturally raises the question: Why did not Heine sever his connections with Campe to secure a more liberal publisher who would pay him adequate fees for his works? Wolff gives an evasive answer and merely states that, "in spite of these inducements and the annoyance which each new book caused him, Heine remained loyal to his publisher, although again and again he had to impress upon him that he had grown up."²² Stigand justifies Heine as an idealist and argues: "If Heine continued to publish with the firm, it was simply because his kindness and feeling made it appear repulsive to him to break away from a publisher with whom he had been on intimate terms, although he might have fared better elsewhere."²³

That this relationship of exploited and exploiter, of the abused poet and the profiteering publisher, continued until the former's death is suggested by all the biographers. Walter, referring to the last decade of their relationship, writes: "Campe, meanwhile, was as stingy and irritating as ever. He supplied him from time to time with books, he fulfilled his financial obligations, but he added to the poet's distress by leaving important letters regarding business matters unanswered for months and even years";²⁴ and Stigand cannot refrain from the repulsive remark that Campe "took a journey to Paris in 1854" thinking that there might be some "further little picking to be got from his bones."²⁵

This analysis makes it clear that so far it has been accepted as a fact that Campe, although an efficient business man, paid Heine very inadequately for his works, that he published abnormally large editions, and that the huge sale of the poet's works enabled him to establish an enormous business, in fact, that the new business building he erected was financed from the profits he derived from the sale of Heine's works. Heine, on the other hand, was such an idealist that he could not separate himself from his publisher, that he rejected the more lucrative offers from several other concerns, and that he stayed loyal to Campe for the rest of his life at the sacrifice of a much greater income which he could easily have secured elsewhere.

Let us now examine the sources on which these observations are based. Heine and Campe exchanged at least 452 letters, of which Heine addressed 238 to Campe and Campe 214 to Heine. Of the entire correspondence forty-two letters are missing, 184 are unpublished, and 226 are accessible and published by Hirth, 209

²² Wolff, 369.

²³ Stigand, II, 243.

²⁴ Walter, 237.

²⁵ Stigand, II, 414.

from Heine to Campe and seventeen from Campe to Heine.²⁶ Here again it cannot be sufficiently stressed that of Heine's 209 letters only three cover the period from 1825 to 1835²⁷ and that of Campe's seventeen letters, which moreover are not copies of the letters but merely of their first drafts, only one is prior to 1848.²⁸ Since, therefore, the accessible correspondence actually begins as late as 1835 and is almost entirely from Heine's pen, it is obvious that we have practically no Heine and Campe letters available during the first decade of their association, and that during the last two decades we have been limited to Heine's point of view. As I have not only Heine's, but also Campe's 184 unpublished letters before me,²⁹ I have submitted this entire correspondence to a thorough examination to see whether this one-sided condemnation of Campe, found in all the Heine biographies, can be maintained any longer.

Julius Campe, Heine's senior by five years, was born in Deensen, Brunswick, in 1792, learned the book-trade at his uncle's establishment in Nuremberg and at the Maurer Publishing Concern in Berlin. He took part in the campaign of 1813 against Napoleon, and after a trip to Italy, devoted himself wholeheartedly to the book-trade. In 1818, after his brother's death, he took over the firm of Hoffmann and Campe, in Hamburg, which he operated until his death in 1867. Campe was endowed with a keen sense of observation and introduced many young authors to the reading public. He often published their works at a great sacrifice and in bitter conflict with the censorship laws of his time. He was known as the publisher of "Young Germany" which connection, in 1835, induced the government to suppress the sale of the works of most of the authors whose publisher he was. Nevertheless he found ways and means to sell his productions, and he did not hesitate to pay considerable fines and even go to prison once for violation of the censorship laws. Campe published the works of Börne, Dingelstedt, Grün, Gutzkow, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Immermann, Raupach, Vehse, Waldau,

²⁶ This includes nine letters from Reinhardt, three from Gathy, one from Dr. Trittau to Campe; one from Gathy to Heine, and one from Campe to Gathy.

²⁷ Campe tells that during the Hamburg fire of 1842 all his ledgers until 1836 were destroyed; Heine's letters to Campe until 1835 seem to have shared the same fate.

²⁸ These first drafts were later found in the files of the Campe Verlag and published in this form by Hirth.

²⁹ In the "Heine-Sammlung Strauß," here published for the first time with the kind permission of Mr. Albert Strauß. Unless otherwise stated, all passages from Campe's letters to Heine have not been published before. Fifty-nine letters from Campe cover the period from 1826 to 1835, 125 from 1836 to 1856.

Wienbarg, and many others. Last, but not least, he was the publisher of the works of Heinrich Heine.⁸⁰

Campe's book store was near Heine's residence and it is very likely that Heine spent many an hour there looking over new publications. The time of the first meeting of the two men is not known; their business relations began in 1825.⁸¹

Campe's first editorial venture with Heine was the first volume of the *Reisebilder* in 1826, for which he paid the author fifty louis d'or.⁸² Campe hesitated at first to publish the *Buch der Lieder*, as it represented mostly a reprinting of those poems that had already appeared in magazines and in Heine's earlier works; only after much coaxing and after Heine had consented to forego his author's fee could Campe be persuaded to print the work that ultimately became Heine's classic.⁸³ The first edition of Volume I of the *Reisebilder* consisted of 1500 copies,⁸⁴ that of the *Buch der Lieder* of 2000.⁸⁵ Also in his financial relations Campe was extremely liberal with Heine who was then comparatively unknown. Although Campe finds the terms for the second volume of the *Reisebilder* too high, we learn that already in 1827, he had granted Heine liberal credit in the mere hope of receiving new publications from him. Campe writes:

Ihre Berechnung habe ich empfangen und habe auch die meinige gemacht, die also lautet, wenn ich die Ihrige annehme: (bei einer Auflage von 1500 Exemplaren)

Für Honorar 80 Louis d'or	1120 Mark
Papier (für 1500 Exemplare)	816 Mark
Druck 21 Bogen	420 Mark
	<hr/> 2356 Mark

⁸⁰ Data for Campe's life based on Meyer's *Lexikon* and on utterances in Campe's letters to Heine.

⁸¹ Campe to Heine, April 5, 1837.

⁸² Heine to Moses Moser, February 14, 1826.

⁸³ Heine to Merckel, November 16, 1826. Campe writes to Heine on December 25, 1826: "Merckel . . . denkt an eine Taschenausgabe . . . Gott wird mich behüten, daß ich meine Achtung nicht so weit für Sie verliere, daß ich in ein so verwünschtes Lilliput-Format Sie zwänge; 'ordentlich oder garnicht,' so lautet mein Bescheid und zwar in zwei Ausgaben auf recht schönem und ordinärem Papier [800 and 1200 copies] . . . Sie sagen . . . das Buch würde überraschen, wodurch? Haben Sie denn so viel Ungedrucktes noch, was dazu kommen soll?" This discards the assertion of many Heine biographers that Heine sacrificed his author's fee for the *Buch der Lieder*, provided Campe put out an attractive edition. Also Campe to Heine, July 12, 1833.

⁸⁴ Campe to Heine, March 5, 1827.

⁸⁵ "Rechnung für Herrn Hoffmann & Campe in Hamburg von der Campeschen Buchdruckerei. Folio 47. Nürnberg, den 24ten Januar 1828." Also Campe to Heine, July 12, 1833.

Das geht nicht! Bedenken Sie, wo wir leben: Der Absatz ist nicht gewiß; das Volk hat Launen! Wenn es hier eine hätte? Für den ersten Teil haben Sie mich ohne meinen Willen, für die zweite Auflage mit 30 Louis d'or gepfändet. Berechnen Sie, was der Druck und das Papier mich kostet, und bezahlt ist, und was ich daraus lösen werde; wahrlich so muß ich hübsch piano gehen. 50 Louis d'or, und die Hälfte dieses, für die erste Auflage bestimmten Honorars, sichere ich für die zweite und folgenden Auflagen. Mehr kann ich nicht! Das soll Ihren Plan nicht ändern, das versteht sich von selbst! Aber erlauben müssen Sie mir, daß ich Sie dafür belaste und bei gelegener Zeit in Abrechnung bringen darf.³⁶

Nevertheless Campe soon displayed his genuine generosity; he not only cancelled Heine's debt by voluntarily granting 50 louis d'or for the *Buch der Lieder*, but also consented to a fee of 80 louis d'or for the second volume of the *Reisebilder*.³⁷ In addition Campe offered payment of 50 per cent of the original fee for every new edition of Heine's works;³⁸ this applied not only to the *Reisebilder*, but also to the *Buch der Lieder*, as is clearly brought out in later letters. This new arrangement was soon laid down in a written contract, dated October 16, 1827.³⁹ Significant it is that this arrangement for new editions, which was uppermost in the mind of Heine, who realized that it represented a most convenient source for additional income without effort, soon became the source of many financial controversies between the two men. Already the same year, in fact before the agreement was put in writing, Heine must have raised the question of a new edition of the first volume of the *Reisebilder* to which Campe replied on June 16, 1827:

Der erste Teil ist sehr stark remittiert, so daß ich noch circa 650 Exemplare davon besitze; an eine neue Auflage ist vor der Hand noch nicht zu denken: das niemand schmerzlicher sein kann wie mir, denn ich hätte Ihnen so gerne diese Freude bereitet! Der zweite Band findet Gnade, doch nicht so wie er es verdient und ich es gewünscht habe.⁴⁰

Meanwhile Campe is dickering for a third volume of the *Reisebilder*, "wodurch ich bei einiger Nachhilfe Ihnen eine neue Auflage

³⁶ Campe to Heine, March 5, 1827. Already on August 11, 1826, Heine's debt to Campe amounted to 42 louis d'or.

³⁷ Campe to Heine, July 12, 1833.

³⁸ Campe to Heine, June 25, 1833.

³⁹ This contract was probably destroyed during the Hamburg fire in 1842. Its contents can in part be reconstructed from Campe's repeated references to it. Also Campe to Heine, June 25, 1833, and March 24, 1837.

⁴⁰ Campe to Heine, June 16, 1827. On May 17, 1828, Campe was able to report: "Mit dem Verkauf der Reisebilder bin ich jetzt zufrieden; wenn gleich der Absatz nicht brillant war, so ist er doch gut gewesen, und damit bin ich zufrieden."

von dem ersten gewiß und auch vielleicht von dem zweiten Teil verspreche."⁴¹ But Campe's inducements find no response in Heine and so, on December 26, 1827, Campe appeals to him again:

Das Eisen soll man schmieden, wenn es heiß ist, wohl, es ist eben recht, es fragt sich nun, ob Sie schmieden wollen? In diesem Augenblick steht Ihnen niemand gegenüber, nehmen Sie die Gelegenheit wahr. Ihr Interesse wie das meine fordert mich auf: Sie auf das Dringendste um Übersendung des Manuskripts zu bitten, damit ultimo Februar die Versendung bezweckt werden kann . . . Heine, es ist der Freund, der kundige Geschäftsmann . . . welcher sich für Heine so verwandte wie er es noch nie für jemand tat! Ungerne möchte ich auf halbem Wege stehen bleiben. Gräff brachte Kosegarten zur Anerkennung, Brockhaus schob Schulz in die Höhe: mit mehr Recht wie jene arbeite ich für Sie und hoffe, durch Ihren Beistand meinen Wunsch erfüllt zu sehen. Sie wissen es, lieber Heine, daß ich Sie als meine Puppe betrachtete. Wieviel Zeit ich Ihretwegen geopfert kann niemand beurteilen, selbst da, wo Sie mich störten, konnte ich es dennoch nicht unterlassen, obgleich ich ärgerlich gemacht es nicht mehr tun wollte, für Sie zu arbeiten, wie es geschehen war. Das möchte Ihnen, wenn Sie sonst nichts wüßten, als Beweis dienen: wie sehr ich Sie schätze und liebe! Mag immerhin ein anderer⁴² da die Ernte machen, wo ich sähete; es wird mich nie gereuen, meinem Herzen gefolgt zu sein, selbst wenn Sie mich deswegen verkennen sollten. Hätte jemand für Kleist so mit Wärme und Liebe arbeiten wollen, wie ich für Sie tat, wahrlich er würde Deutschland mehr sein, wie er jemals bei aller Originalität und Vortrefflichkeit sein wird.⁴³

Heine, as he did again and again throughout his relationship with Campe, paid no attention to this urgent and well-meaning request. Only after much effort on the part of Campe was the third volume finally extracted from Heine in 1830 at a fee of eighty louis d'or, the fourth in 1831 at seventy louis d'or.⁴⁴ In 1830 and 1831 appeared also second editions of the first and second volumes of the *Reisebilder*.

In 1831 the *Nachtrag*, or fourth volume of the *Reisebilder*,⁴⁵ was suppressed in Prussia where Campe did most of his selling.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Campe to Heine, August 28, 1827; also June 2, 1828, and October 21, 1828.

⁴² This reference is to the publisher Frank who had tried to buy the third volume of the *Reisebilder*, but was able to offer only 40 louis d'or to the 80 Campe had already agreed to pay.

⁴³ Campe to Heine, December 26, 1827.

⁴⁴ Campe to Heine, November 19, 1833.

⁴⁵ On December 28, 1831, Campe explains the change of title: "Ich möchte den Titel ändern, weil die Nachträge verboten sind, diese in den 4ten Teil umbauen, dann hat das Verbot darauf keine Wirkung und muß neu erlassen werden, wobei man sich besinnen möchte."

⁴⁶ Campe to Heine, January 21, 1831, and May 27, 1831.

Nevertheless, Campe did not feel discouraged; on the contrary, he tried to buy from Dümmler the remaining stock and publish a new edition of Heine's *Tragödien*, hoping that this might induce him to better and prompt cooperation. Campe informed Heine of this plan, adding: "Also tun Sie nun auch etwas für mich, damit ich die unverschämte Forderung des Dümmler nicht scheue."⁴⁷ He did not come to terms with Dümmler at this time.

Meanwhile Heine's *Einleitung zu Kahldorf über den Adel* had appeared. Campe gives the reasons why this work turned out a complete fiasco:

Kein Mensch fragt mehr darnach und kaum sind 60-70 Exemplare in allem nachverlangt. In Preußen begann damals die Verbietererei. Alle Buchhändler waren voller Schreck und hatten die Hose voll, daher kam fast alles, wie ich es versandte gleich zurück; dort ist Bürgerstand, und da könnte es ziehen! In Österreich ist jeder Mensch, der einen ganzen Rock an hat, "Herr von N"; daher glaubt sich jeder Bücherkäufer in seinem Recht angetastet, und war es dort durchaus nichts. Das sind zwei Hauptbüchermärkte, die verschlossen waren, und auf die übrigen war Kahldorfs Polemik nicht scharf genug.⁴⁸

Concerning the exorbitant fee that Heine expected for this little work, Campe added:

Ich muß mit Recht Anstand nehmen für 26 Seiten 20 Louis d'or zu vergüten, das ist nicht billig! Wenn Sie, lieber Heine, das mich Ihrer Diskretion überlassen nennen, wie soll es uns da in Zukunft gehen? Besser wir sprechen garnicht über Geschäfte und sind so gute Freunde, als daß daraus eine Quelle von Verdruß sich ergibt. Ich finde es so übel, so verdrießlich, daß Sie bei jedem neuen Artikel einen neuen Preis per Bogen bedingen; das verleidet mir sehr unsere Verbindung; mit keinem Menschen habe ich ein solches Mißverhältnis. Bleiben Sie doch so, schrauben Sie nicht, nehmen wir einen bestimmten Satz an, so hört das auf, und wir leben friedlich und nichts trübt unser Verhältnis. Nie ist irgend eine Differenz zwischen uns gewesen, anders, als wenn Sie mich drangsalierten. Aus Liebe zu einem vernünftigen geregelten Verbands, lassen Sie uns das ein für allemal bestimmen, dann ist dergleichen für immer beseitigt.⁴⁹

When settling the bill for *Kahldorf*, Heine and Campe finally agreed on a payment of twelve louis d'or.⁴⁹ This is the only case on record where Campe did not meet Heine's figure. In all other instances, without a single exception, Heine always made his price and Campe

⁴⁷ Campe to Heine, December 28, 1831.

⁴⁸ Campe to Heine, March 13, 1832.

⁴⁹ Campe to Heine, March 30, 1833.

always paid the full amount or even more, although often after much complaining.

The *Französische Zustände*, published in 1833, in an edition of 2500 copies, proved again a financial fiasco⁵⁰ for Campe, and so we can appreciate Campe's reference to the author's fee for this work:

Einliegend folgt die Rechnungsübersicht . . . wir haben nie Weitläufigkeiten gehabt und so ließ ich das in der alten Weise laufen, da wir uns stets verständigten. Es kommt Ihnen . . . der Nachtrag von 70 Louis d'or und die Vorrede zum Adel mit 12 Louis d'or und die Zustände gut. Machen Sie es mit diesen billig.⁵¹

Heine's answer to this request is unfortunately lost, but Campe who "was disgusted with Heine's unwarranted and arrogant accusations," enlightens us in his reply which deserves to be quoted at length:

Ihren umständlichen Brief vom 18. Juni habe ich empfangen und beantworte ihn gleich . . . Ich glaube Ihnen zu der bestimmten Zeit entschieden Antwort gegeben zu haben, ebenso empfangen Sie meine Rechnung, wie Sie sie verlangten. Ich wußte nicht, daß Sie 80 Louis d'or für die Zustände rechneten, überhaupt was Sie dafür verlangten, war mir nicht bekannt, deswegen warf ich das nicht aus.

Sie sind ja freier Mann und können daher über Ihre Erzeugnisse frei verfügen; wie könnte ich also deswegen zürnen, wenn ich Ihnen überflüssig wurde und Sie einen anderen Verleger suchen wollen? So klein, lieber Heine, bin ich nicht. Ein höchst anständiges Honorar haben Sie stets empfangen, und zwar in einer Zeit schon, wo ich jahrelang hökern mußte, um meine Auslagen wieder heraus zu bringen. Ich tat das, wie Sie wissen, aus blanker barer Achtung und Liebe zu Ihren Sachen, und aus Vertrauen, das ich gegen Sie hegte; und habe, wie Sie es mir und der ganze Buchhandel es bezeugen muß, unsägliche Briefe und Bearbeitungen vorgenommen: um Sie zu der Anerkennung zu bringen, dahin, wo ich es mir zum Ziele gesetzt hatte, Sie in der Anerkennung zu finden. Wer Ihre künftige Biographie auch schreiben möge, wenn wir beide nicht mehr sind, wird das mir nachsagen müssen, wie ich Ihr Atlas war. Ich versichere Sie, in den Jahren 1826, 1827 und 1828 habe ich hunderte von Briefen zu Ihrem Vorteil geschrieben, und da, wo es angewandt war, Sie mit Exemplaren begleitet. Es wäre eine saubere Sache, sollten wir uns später trennen, wo ich das zur Saat sehen werde, das ich mit Liebe pflegte!

Welche abscheuliche Lüge tischen Sie mir auf: ich hätte 6000 Exemplare [der Reisebilder] drucken lassen? Sagen Sie dem, der

⁵⁰ Campe writes on January 20, 1833: "Die Zustände sind hier furchtbar zurückgegeben; alte Zeitungsartikel gefallen den Leuten nicht! Ebenso findet im Buchhandel kein Nachverlangen statt."

⁵¹ Campe to Heine, March 30, 1833.

es gesagt, er sei ein infamer Lügner . . . Freilich kann die Rechnung so lauten: Wenn wir die erste und zweite Auflage zusammen nehmen, dann kommen 3000 und vom zweiten 3500 heraus, die gedruckt sind; das habe ich Ihnen und Gelehrten gesagt, die darnach fragten. Wollen Sie mir nicht glauben, was ich über den dritten und vierten Teil Ihnen sagte, so kann ich es Ihnen beweisen, beweisen durch die Fakturen . . . Außerdem habe ich vor 10 Tagen vom dritten und vierten Teile noch 102 Exemplare von hier nach Leipzig auf das Lager gesandt. Es ist mir traurig über solche Dinge zu sprechen, die Sie mir vielleicht aus Höflichkeit, ohne darauf zu antworten, sagen zu lassen erlauben und Ihr Teil dabei denken; das eben ist mir verdrießlich, weil Sie keine Ahnung davon haben, wie die Buchhändler mit den Verlegern umgehen, nicht als wenn Bücher eine Ware sondern Jux wären! . . . Unser Akkord ist ja bei neuen Auflagen: die Hälfte des ersten Honorars, soll das nicht gelten? für die Salons gebe ich per Teil 80 Louis d'or (von Zensur freien Teilen, also 21 Bogen), wie Sie es bestimmt haben.

Wenn Sie nun, lieber Heine, solche Abreden nicht bestehen lassen, sondern mich zwiebeln, davon abstehe, was schriftlich und mündlich verhandelt und festgestellt ist: können Sie sich da wohl über mich beklagen? Oder wenn Sie solche Forderungen stellen, daß ich meine Rechnung nicht zu finden Aussicht habe? Seien Sie doch billig; stellen Sie doch etwas fest, damit wir nie zu handeln haben, sondern jeder sich seine Rechnung von selbst zu machen imstande ist! Wie schön ist es denn nicht, wenn das freundschaftliche und merkantilsche Verhältnis gleich geordnet und fest steht! Wie viel Ärger wäre Ihnen und wie viel mir dadurch erspart! Alle gegenwärtigen und künftigen Differenzen wären dann mit einem Male rein beseitigt! . . . Sie meinen Börne habe viel von mir erhalten? Ich wiederhole es Ihnen, für die Briefe aus Paris 1.2. hat er pro Band 50 Louis d'or bekommen, und habe ich das Recht, sie in 5 Jahren so oft zu drucken wie ich will ohne Vergütung, und habe sie wirklich zweimal gedruckt für den Preis.

Ich soll sagen, was ich für den Schnabelewopski gebe; nehmen wir das Verhältnis von den Salons, und wenn es Ihnen zur Erleichterung dient, möge dieses stets für die Folge gelten? Wirklich, lieber Heine, Sie beurteilen mich falsch, wenn Sie mich einen Knicker schelten! Möglich daß ich so scheine! Aber ich scheine das nur und bin es aber gewiß nicht . . . Wirklich, wenn Sie . . . berücksichtigen, daß nicht alle Jahre gleichen Nutzen bringen und wie oft herbe Verluste durch Fallissements uns überkommen sind, die hier so oft sich finden, denken Sie daran: dann werden Sie anders urteilen!

Bei dem Ruf, den die Reisebilder genießen, ist es mir selbst merkwürdig, daß man mit 2000 Exemplaren soweit hat kommen können. Aber denken Sie daran, in Deutschland wird viel gelesen aber wenig gekauft.

Ebenso möchte ich einen festen Satz für künftige Sachen. Mit keinem Menschen habe ich das Handeln und Dingen wie mit Ihnen, und das hat so oft unser Verhältnis getrübt und mich lau gegen Sie gemacht. Der Deutlichkeit wegen sollten wir jedoch solche Sachen, die bereits abgedruckt sind, im Voraus besprechen und minder veranschlagen als solche, die noch nicht gedruckt sind. Denn ein neues Buch ist was ganz anders als ein bekanntes . . . Übersetzungen Ihrer Sachen betrachte ich nicht als gedruckt.⁶²

So we see that Heine, in offensive language, had demanded higher fees for his works than he was entitled to by previous contract, that he accused Campe of having published larger editions than agreed upon to defraud him of his fees for subsequent editions, and that Heine threatened to look for another publisher unless Campe satisfied his demands.

Campe's next letter throws further light upon the situation: "Sehr dankbar bin ich Ihnen für Ihren Brief vom 4. Juli;⁶³ dafür daß Sie mir ehrlich sagen: woher das tolle Gewäsche kommt,⁶⁴ ich hätte stärkere Auflagen gemacht, wie es der Fall ist, und daß ich so Gelegenheit finde: mich reinigen zu können." Campe now proves to Heine's brother Maximilian, who happened to be at Campe's store at the time Heine's letter arrived, by reference to his files, that Heine's works were never published in editions of more than 2500 copies. At this point we are also informed about the size of the first edition of the *Buch der Lieder*:

Der Vorrat von diesen 2000 ist bis auf circa 800 geschmolzen, und seit zwei Jahren beginnt das Buch erst regelmäßig, durch wiederholte Versendung mit den Reisebildern, gangbar zu werden. So geht es mit Gedichten. Damals wie ich dieses Buch drucken ließ, wissen Sie, wollte ich garnichts davon wissen. Nur 1000 wollte ich auflegen lassen. Sie wollten die möglichste Verbreitung haben und verlangten, ich sollte für den Zweck 3000 drucken lassen. Nur gezwungen willigte ich zu 2000 ein, wie Merckel bestätigen kann. Sie verzichteten in Folge dieser Kosten, die sich so mehrten, auf das Honorar, das Sie jedoch später in Anspruch nahmen und empfangen. In 7 Jahren sind incl. der Verschenkten 1200 Exemplare abgegangen. Was sagen Sie nun, soll es mich nicht empören, über solche Dinge mit Ihnen zu rechten. Wahnsinn wäre es 6000 Auflage von einem neuen Buche zu machen . . . das Höchste was ich

⁶² Campe to Heine, June 25, 1833. Heine was Campe's best paid author. Even Gutzkow received at first only 30, later 40 louis d'or per volume of 21 signatures; Raupach, a good seller, received 15 Prussian thaler per signature.

⁶³ Heine to Campe, July 4, 1833; lost.

⁶⁴ Campe's nephew Napoleon Campe, in charge of the publishing concern, Heideloff and Campe, in Paris.

je von einem Ihrer Bücher auflegte sind 2500 Exemplare gewesen. Gegen Jedermann bin ich ehrlich und zuverlässig; habe selbst Freude daran, wenn ich eine neue Auflage machen kann, und gehöre nicht in die Sorte der Leute, die ihre Ehre, ihres Vorteils wegen in die Schanze schlagen.⁸⁵

Campe is especially annoyed at the fact that Heine had already carried out his threat and published his *Geschichte der neueren Literatur in Deutschland*⁸⁶ with Heideloff and Campe in Paris, without first having submitted it to him:

Was soll ich dazu sagen, daß Sie erst Ihre Sachen drucken lassen bei Leuten, die für Sie nie etwas taten, die so das Fett abschöpften, und ich soll nachher mit dem Rest der Knochen vorlieb nehmen? Das ist schlecht spekuliert und nicht recht gehandelt; geben Sie mir das auf. Nie habe ich eine größere Auflage als 2500 gemacht, und diese machte ich nur, um mich mit den Büchern bewegen zu können. Es gibt ungefähr 950 Buchhandlungen, davon empfangen circa 700 von mir Sachen; was soll ich jedem geben, wenn ich 1500 oder 2000 drucken lasse, und selbst meine Kundschaft gehörig versorgen, das Werk also bekannt machen will? Natürlich sind Handlungen darunter, die mit einem Exemplar genug haben, andere aber wünschen 50 und mehr Exemplare zu erhalten. Wie die Verteilung zweckmäßig gemacht werde, das ist meine Wissenschaft und davon hängt der ganze Erfolg bei gangbaren Sachen ab. Möchten Sie sich von dieser Wahrheit überzeugen und Irrwege vermeiden, die unserm Verkehr nicht zuträglich sind.⁸⁷

Campe furthermore explains why the *Buch der Lieder* and the third volume of the *Reisebilder* did not sell as they should:

Wenn Sie Uhlands Gedichte betrachten und das Renommée worin er sich befindet, religiös und mittelalterlich, so ist es klar, warum er so viele Verehrer findet. Sie behandeln Liebe und Sich Selbst, und wieder Sich Selbst; das sehen die Leute als stinkigen Egoismus an, und nehmen das Buch der Lieder mehr zur Kompletierung, als zu anderem Zweck. Gott sei Dank, der Vernünftigen gibt es auch. Aber der Egoismus wird Ihnen so ununterbrochen zur Last gelegt, dann daß Sie der Üppigkeit das Wort reden. Bedarf es noch mehr Gründe, um zu beweisen, warum Uhlands Gedichte populärer sind? Uhlands Gedichte kauft jeder, um ein Geschenk an eine Dame, zum Geburtstag oder

⁸⁵ Campe to Heine, July 12, 1833.

⁸⁶ *Französische Zustände* was first published in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* from January 11 to September 28, 1832; Campe was particularly annoyed that Heine had sold the *Vorrede zu den französischen Zuständen* to Heideloff and Campe in Paris, while he was still negotiating for it.

⁸⁷ Campe to Heine, July 12, 1833.

sonstigen Zwecken zu machen, und habe ich wöchentlich Gelegenheit, das zu bemerken mehrere Mal, daß sie gekauft werden, wo das Buch der Lieder keine Gnade findet; so geht es hier und in allen Städten Deutschlands. Ihr Buch geht nach den Universitäten an junge Männer und dergleichen—die kein Geld haben.^{57a}

The third volume of the *Reisebilder* does not sell as it should because of the Platen episode in it.⁵⁸ And again Campe protests against the publication of works in newspapers before submitting them to him:

Eine neue Weitläufigkeit will ich unter der Rubrik Schon Gedrucktes nicht finden. Wie wäre es, wenn Sie erst alles in Zeitschriften oder Pamphlets abdrucken lassen, so daß künftig Ihre Bücher fast nur Aufgewärmtes bringen. Ich glaube Sie kennen das Gefühl so gut wie ich, mit welchem Sie und das ganze Publikum so etwas zur Hand nehmen. Von den Zuständen habe ich z.B. hier nicht 1/6 dessen abgesetzt, was ich von andern Ihrer Schriften unterbrachte. Rede ich nun ohne Erfahrung? . . . Tun Sie das Ihrer Selbstwillen nicht. Und droht solches nicht still bene werden zu wollen, wenn Sie auf 6 Monate Ihre Arbeit jemand verkaufen? . . . Gesetzt ein Verleger druckt eine Auflage, wird er sie in 6 Monaten los? Nein! Wo bleiben die gedruckten Exemplare? Sie bleiben so lange im Handel bis sie verdrösel sind. Und wollen Sie das kontrollieren: ob es bei dem bleibt!? Aber das ist gewiß, daß Sie dem eigentlichen Werke dadurch den besten Absatz nehmen! und zum Nachdruck herausfordern, dessen, was Sie jenen nicht verkauft haben. Ich finde diese Einrichtung höchst unbillig. Mögen wir verschieden darüber denken. Sie werden es sehen, Sie strafen sich selbst damit, denn wohin das führt ist nicht abzusehen. Ein tüchtiges gangbares Buch zu liefern, freut Sie und den Verleger, der dann auch mit Liebe dafür arbeitet; ist es ein Bastard,—wird es als solcher behandelt. Mit einem Wort, mich verdrießt es, daß Sie das Verhältnis verkennen und des Honorares wegen eine Einrichtung treffen, die übel und unerquicklich ist. Es nimmt mir das Freudige des Verkehrs, das ich sonst haben würde; der Nachtreter zu sein, ist unerfreulich.⁵⁹

Heine paid no attention to Campe's complaints and suggestions; instead he continued to call him a miser and even accused him of interfering with, and discouraging him in his work.⁶⁰ These accusations Campe rejects very bitterly on August 7, 1833:

^{57a} Campe to Heine, July 12, 1833.

⁵⁸ Campe to Heine, July 12, 1833; also November 14, 1831, and March 13, 1832.

⁵⁹ Campe to Heine, July 12, 1833.

⁶⁰ Heine to Campe, beginning of August, 1833; lost. The contrary is true; many of Campe's letters are filled with admonitions, such as: "Bitte, verkennen Sie die günstige Zeit nicht, die Sie auffordert, sie zu benutzen, um in das Publikum zu dringen."

Aufrichtig gestanden, lieber Heine, begreife ich Sie seit einigen Monaten nicht mehr und kann das Mißbehagen dieses Gefühls nicht unterdrücken . . . Wozu machen Sie sich es zum Geschäft, jeden Ihrer Briefe in neuerer Zeit mit den unwürdigsten und unerhörtesten, herabwürdigenden und verächtlichsten Gemeinheiten gegen mich zu spicken? Statt daß wir uns bessere Dinge sagen, muß ich mich gegen Verletzendes verteidigen. Kann ich dafür, daß Ihre Poesie so weit gediehen ist, mich zum Spitzbuben und Schurken zu machen! Sie erkennen es, nachdem ich dem Verleumder Galgen und Rad gezeigt, aber auch Ihnen die Originalrechnung behündigt habe, daß Sie mir Unrecht wegen der vermeinten Auflage von 6000 statt 2000 getan. Was Wort Kinderei fehlt in keinem Ihrer Briefe. Wer in Deutschland hat jemals einen jungen Schriftsteller, den er selbst emporarbeitet, so honoriert, als ich Sie? Wer hat jemals, wie die erste Auflage kaum gedruckt, schon die zweite Auflage bezahlt, wie ich Ihr Buch? Wer hat je ein geschenktes Buch bezahlt, wie ich, das Buch der Lieder? Habe ich nicht fast alle Bücher früher bezahlt, ehe sie in meinen Händen waren. Und was diese Honorierung selbst betrifft, so ist diese so, wie man bis dahin kein Beispiel hatte. Bin ich solcher Handlung wegen in Ihren Augen ein Knicker? Damit nicht zufrieden, finde ich in Ihrem letzten Briefe, daß Sie mir Schuld geben, ich sei Ursache, daß Sie nicht fleißiger waren! Wahrlich, wenn jemand faul im Arbeiten ist, soll ein anderer, der seine Zeit nie in Anspruch nahm, diese getötet haben? Nie habe ich Sie in Ihren Arbeiten gestört; nie glaube ich Ihnen durch solche Abhaltungen lästig geworden zu sein. Wohl aber habe ich Sie oft Jahr und Tag getrieben, Versprochenes zu liefern; ich erinnere Sie an das Jahr 1827-30. Beim Himmel! Können Sie es denn nicht aufgeben, immer Vorwürfe heranzufahren? Wer weiß, wessen Sie mich noch bezüchtigen! Um das Maß voll zu machen, sagen Sie doch lieber gleich, ich hätte Sie bestohlen. Es ist abscheulich, abscheulich! wie und was Sie mir alles sagen; es widert mich an, und ich kann es nicht dulden, daß Sie mich wie einen Hund behandeln. Die Natur gab mir soviel Gefühl, daß mich das durch und durch verwundet, weil Sie alles ins Widerwärtige ziehen und unwahr ist. Niedriges hat mir noch kein Mensch nachgesagt; es hat keiner Ursache dazu, und am wenigsten haben Sie sie! Wenn ich Ihnen jetzt nicht vorher das Geld geben kann für die Salons, so wissen Sie, daß ich wenigstens ein ehrlicher Mann bin, der gleichwohl vom Mißgeschick heimgesucht ist; aber nichts desto weniger werden Sie pünktlich das Ihrige erhalten, und hoffentlich früher, wie ich Ihnen versprach; wenn nun das auch dieses Mal anders wie sonst ist, so möchte ich doch durch Fußtritte die Zinsen dafür nicht ausgeglichen wissen; die dulde ich von keinem Menschen! Die Achtung, die Sie dem ehrlichen Mann schulden die muß ich bitten, das die nicht weg fällt; die muß bleiben,

sonst hole der Teufel jeden Verkehr! Denn mit einem Lump, wie ich wäre, hätten Sie Recht: müßten Sie garnicht verkehren!⁶¹

Having this part of the letter off his chest, Campe ends with an appeal to let the manuscript of the second volume of the *Salon* follow as soon as possible:

Den zweiten Teil honoriere ich ebenso wie den ersten. Könnten Sie ihn im November fertig liefern, würde ich es dankbar erkennen; Alsdann würde ich gleich zwei Teile berechnen und Sie sollen dann gleich wie ich ihn empfangen, oder sobald ich früher kann, das erste Geld haben, was ich disponibel haben werde . . . Nun leben Sie wohl, bessern Sie sich! und bleiben Sie mir freundlich gesonnen, wie ich es in der Seele für Sie bin; aber dennoch mit Ihnen brummen mußte.⁶²

To Heine's fears that the censor may not let his new works pass without severe cuts, Campe answered very confidently:

Sie wissen, daß ich alles druckte und drucken konnte, und stets drucken kann: wenn ich will. Doch tun Sie besser, es hübsch mäßig zu treiben. Wäre die Vorrede nach Preußen gekommen, was wäre die Folge? Ein für allemal wären alle Ihre Erzeugnisse im Umfange der Monarchie verboten; —und Preußen zählt 13 Millionen Einwohner! Mögen immerhin eine Anzahl Exemplare dennoch gehen nach solchen Staaten, so ist ein freier ungehinderter Verkehr unter allen Umständen vorzuziehen, deswegen empfehle ich Ihnen Umsicht! . . . Doch auf der andern Seite, wohl oder nicht wohl, die Regierungen müssen manches geschehen lassen, weil sie es ohne ungeheuren Hallo nicht hemmen können, und diesen Hallo lieben sie garnicht, wohl wissend, daß solcher nur als Rekommodation zu betrachten ist und betrachtet wird. Mich hat man z.B. in Preußen ad memoriam notiert, obgleich ich es nicht verdiene.⁶³

As long as Campe managed the censorship problems himself, everything went very smoothly until in January, 1834, all of Heine's works, as well as all the publications from Heideloff and Campe in Paris, where Heine's *Vorrede* had just appeared, were suppressed in Prussia. Campe now explained to Heine, who seemed to be incapable of understanding the new order in Germany: "Sie haben gegen mich gewütet, daß ich die Vorrede nicht geben wollte, so wie Sie wollten, nun sehen Sie doch, daß ich Recht hatte zu zögern, zu fürchten; ich wollte den herben Schlag abwenden, der nun geschossen ist."⁶³ And two months later he is obliged to add the still

⁶¹ Campe to Heine, August 7, 1833.

⁶² Campe to Heine, November 5, 1833.

⁶³ Campe to Heine, January 21, 1834; also November 19, 1833.

more depressing news "daß man künftig nicht nur gegen Gedrucktes, sondern Ungedrucktes sofort eine kriminelle Untersuchung einleiten würde, wenn es zur Zensur käme. Nun fehlte hoch die Verordnung: die uns das Denken untersagen wird."⁶⁴ Heine believed that this ban would soon be raised,⁶⁵ but Campe was of a different opinion.⁶⁶ Campe was right, as is shown a short time later when he was summoned to court three times to prove that he had no connection with the Paris publishing concern, which was partly owned by his nephew. Campe writes about his experience at court:

Mein Stammbaum ward zuerst, der männlichen Linie nach, entworfen und fortgeführt; dann meine Tätigkeit, in soweit sie Ihre Geisteskinder betraf, wo und wie die geboren und welche Kontrakte darüber vorlägen; deren ich jedoch keine aufweisen konnte. Wieviel ich Ihnen gezahlt? Darauf blieb ich das Produkt zu nennen schuldig und erklärte: solches sei höchst anständig gewesen und Sie hätten bei mir offene Kasse. Nach und nach ging es zur Hauptsache: der Vorrede zu den Zuständen.⁶⁷

The case against Campe was dismissed.

Meanwhile the second volume of the *Salon* had appeared with only moderate success: "Der Salon hat hier nur ein sehr kleines Publikum gefunden, indes ist das bessere Publikum damit zufrieden."⁶⁸ When Heine received a printed copy of the *Salon*, he immediately noticed many changes and omissions in the text which were actually caused by the pen of the censor, but for which he held Campe responsible. Heine now showed exceedingly poor judgment by writing an open letter against Campe about this matter in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.⁶⁹ When Campe, in a dignified protest, justly complained of such disrespectful treatment, and rejected Heine's unfounded accusations,⁷⁰ Heine replied in his often quoted letter from April 7, 1835:

Ich lasse mich nicht wie ein Junge, der schweigen muß, behandeln. Ich war vielleicht ein kleiner Junge, als Sie mich zuerst sahen, aber das sind jetzt 10 Jahre, und ich bin seitdem ganz erschrecklich gewachsen. Und gar in den letzten vier Jahren; Sie haben keinen Begriff davon, wie ich groß geworden bin. Ich überrage einen ganzen Kopf hoch eine Menge Schriftsteller, denen ihre

⁶⁴ Campe to Heine, April 5, 1834.

⁶⁵ Campe to Heine, June 16, 1834.

⁶⁶ Campe to Heine, June 16, 1834; also January 12, 1834, and April 5, 1834.

⁶⁷ Campe to Heine, July 23, 1834.

⁶⁸ Campe to Heine, March 13, 1835.

⁶⁹ Reprinted in Hirth, No. 346.

⁷⁰ Campe to Heine, April 1, 1835, and April 3, 1835.

Verleger, mit welchen sie nicht einmal in Freundschaft stehen, doppelt so viel Honorar zahlen, wie Sie mir zahlen. Es ist wahr, ganz kleine Jungen von Schriftstellern erhalten jetzt so viel Honorar wie ich; aber das sollte Sie doch nicht verleiten, meine reelle Größe in Anschlag zu bringen, wenn es die Behandlung gilt; denn wahrlich, eben wie eine honette Köchin, habe ich immer weniger auf Gehalt, als vielmehr auf gute Behandlung gesehen.⁷¹

When Heine writes at the end of this letter: "Sie dürfen mir es auf meine Ehre glauben, die glänzendsten Anerbietungen Ihrer Kollegen habe ich bis heute unbeantwortet gelassen,"⁷¹ we have every reason to doubt the truthfulness of this statement, as two years later we find him similarly misrepresenting facts about wonderful offers from other publishers. At any rate, already in his next letter Heine takes a conciliatory attitude:

Bey Ihnen, glaub' ich, habe ich das Drückendste überstanden, die Pfeffernüsse, die angeklebten Verlagsanzeigen mit Kothrenomméen, die Schadenfreude bey schlechten Rezensionen, die ewigen Klagen, die großen Auflagen, die kleinen Foppereyen, kurz die Julius-Campejaden. Können Sie Ihre Natur etwas für die Zukunft bezwingen, so tun Sie es doch, bitte! Von den großen Honorarerhöhungen, die für Sie zu befürchten standen, sollen Ihnen auch die Harre nicht grau werden. Ich habe nie daran gedacht, mir ein Vermögen zu erschreiben; wenn ich eben habe, was ich brauche, bin ich zufrieden. Knausereyen von Ihrer Seite führten immer dahin, daß ich mich lukrativeren Beschäftigungen hingeben mußte. Sie handelten in dieser Hinsicht immer unpolitisch. Ich brauche dies Jahr noch 2000 Mark Banko, ich will sie von Ihnen haben.⁷²

Heine now offers a "Welt erfreuliches Buch" to which no censor in the wide world could possibly object, for 1000 marks and his *Geschichte der neueren Literatur in Deutschland*, which had already been published by Heideloff and Campe in Paris, enlarged by six or seven signatures, under the new title *Geschichte der romantischen Poesie*, for an additional 1000 marks.

Campe immediately writes Heine his reaction to this offer:

Ich werde dafür [für den Roman] 1000 M zusammenkratzen . . . Aber mit der Literatur! Da muß ich protestieren. Literatur interessiert nur ein kleines Publikum, und daß 1000 Exemplare [der pariser Ausgabe] abgegangen sind, ist dankenswert. Mit dem ersten Teile des Salons bin ich noch nicht bis zu der Zahl, bis diese Stunde, gedrungen, obgleich ich mir alle Mühe damit gab und es an Versendungen nicht fehlen ließ, und als Buch nicht eine Zeile davon

⁷¹ Heine to Campe, April 7, 1835.

⁷² Heine to Campe, July 2, 1835.

gedruckt war. Wer jene Literatur hat, und die haben Ihre Freunde wohl so ziemlich alle: die sich mit ernstern Dingen beschäftigen und Sinn für mehr als Ihre Witze haben. Glauben Sie, die Besitzer dieser Ausgaben werden sie wegwerfen und die neue kaufen? . . . Sagen Sie mir nun, lieber Freund, wie soll ich bei dem Werke zu meinen Ausgaben kommen.⁷³

Heine replied confidently that his *Romantische Schule* would be one of his best works and that he was the only author of Campe's who could claim to be a classic.⁷⁴ But Campe refutes Heine's argument:

Der Name tut es nicht allein. Denken Sie an Ihre Tragödien! Das Buch ist nun 13 Jahre alt. 1000 sind nur gedruckt und Dümmler hat noch 350 Exemplare. Ich handelte, wie Sie wissen, mit ihm darüber, aber ich ward mit ihm nicht einig, wie ich Ihnen berichtete. Hätte ich sie bekommen, längst hätten wir eine neue Auflage. Ich stand davon am Ende nach Versuchen ab, weil er zu viel verlangte, und weil es mir zweckmäßig erschien, Ihnen zu zeigen, welcher Unterschied zwischen Verleger und Verleger stattfindet. Wie meine Mühe mir gelohnt wird, wie Sie meinen Fleiß für Ihre Anerkennung würdigen, dafür zeugt das Verlangen, das Sie an mich stellen und gewähre es Ihnen, nicht aus merkantilischen: sondern rein freundschaftlichen Gründen. Denn 500 M sollen jetzt nicht Ursache sein, daß wir uns trennen!⁷⁵

When the question of a title for the new novel arose,⁷⁶ Campe made the following interesting observations:

Für Ihr nächstes Buch haben Sie keinen Titel und wollen meinen Rat. Wie soll ich raten, da ich den Gegenstand nicht kenne! Salon 3? Der Salon ist nicht gegangen, hat wenig Beifall gefunden, wie ich Ihnen der Wahrheit gemäß früher berichtet habe. Sie schrieben mir, "ein Welt erfreuliches Buch" sollte ich haben. Darauf zähle ich. Wäre dem nun, wie Sie sagten, dann weiß ich nicht, was am besten sein würde; es mit einem selbständigen Titel zu versorgen, wäre das Vernünftigste, das zu tun ist. Indes kommt eine andere Betrachtung: Der Salon 1.2. ist so unpopulär wie möglich, hinge man ein, wie Sie sagen "Welt erfreuliches Buch" daran, dann schleppte dieses den lahmen 1.2. mit weg. Sie mögen darüber entscheiden, denn das sind die Gesichtspunkte dies ich im Auge habe. Und wahrlich es könnte nicht schaden, wenn dem Salon eine Hilfe würde, die ihn bei aller Welt courfähig machte, was diesem Buche fehlte, denn es ging nur so zur Gesellschaft der übrigen traurig mit. Ich denke mir Ihre Bücher

⁷³ Campe to Heine, July 9, 1835.

⁷⁴ Heine to Campe, July 26, 1835.

⁷⁵ Campe to Heine, August 6, 1835.

⁷⁶ Heine to Campe, October 11, 1835.

wie die Glieder einer Familie: da sind nun die ältesten Kinder, die Reisebilder, 2 Mädchen und 2 Knaben, die mit edlem Selbstbewußtsein etwas patzig vor aller Welt sich hinstellen und sich geltend machen; das Buch der Lieder ist ein Bursch, der froh und sanglustig, heiter sich an das Paar Geschwister reiht. Ein ernster Bruder sind die französischen Zustände und der elternlose adoptierte Neffe "vom Adel" drängt sich diesen auf und geht überall mit hin, wo er geduldet, aber nur geduldet wird. Das Zwillingsspaar, der Salon leidet an Skrofel, kann daher nicht so lebendig wie die andern Geschwister einherschreiten; diese haben zu viel studiert und haben darüber das lebensfrohe, das heitere, der übrigen eingeübt und wollen sich durch Wissen geltend machen, und werden dadurch von den Freunden der ältern Geschwister zurückgesetzt. Sie müssen sich andere Freunde suchen, das ist nicht so leicht, wenn sie auch von guter Familie sind!⁷⁷

In December 1835 the decrees of the *Bundesversammlung* suppressed the publication and sale of Heine's works throughout Germany. This meant a tremendous blow to the publisher who explained to Heine:

Daß Ihre Bücher fast überall verboten sind, wissen Sie, selbst Hannover, Dänemark und alle die kleinen Kleffer haben es getan, haben konfisziert, woraus mir eine Menge der unangenehmsten Verwicklungen teils schon in meinen Rechnungen erwachsen sind und noch folgen werden. Daß es kein erfreuliches Geschäft ist, Ihre Sachen unter solchen Umständen zu versenden, wo man allen Betrügereien blosgestellt wird, werden Sie fühlen? In jedem Stande gibt es Schurken, unter den Buchhändlern sind derer eben genug vorhanden! Daher muß ich einen Weg suchen, den Schuft zu entgehen. Es ist schwer und hemmt jedenfalls den Absatz, das sehe ich ein, aber besser weniger Absatz als Prell zu erfahren.⁷⁸

Two days later we also hear that the entire Campe Verlag threatened to be suppressed: "Von Leipzig höre ich gleichzeitig, daß man alles von meinem Verlage konfiszieren wolle, was in diese Richtung schlägt; man fügte noch hinzu, man habe darauf angetragen, mir die Konzession zu nehmen. Die dummen Ochsen, wissen nicht, daß hier freier Handel existiert."⁷⁹

During these depressing times, Campe asked Heine to prepare a new edition of the *Buch der Lieder*⁸⁰ and to settle the account for the *Romantische Schule*:

⁷⁷ Campe to Heine, October 23, 1835.

⁷⁸ Campe to Heine, February 14, 1836.

⁷⁹ Campe to Heine, February 16, 1836.

⁸⁰ Campe to Heine, May 20, 1836, and July 11, 1836; also August 5, 1836, and October 4, 1836.

Wie rechnen Sie diese? Wie ich Ihnen sagte, so ist es damit, obgleich ich alles dafür aufgeboden habe, so sind bis jetzt doch nur 568 Exemplare abgegangen. Es ist dieses mehr wie ich erwartete, doch deckt das nicht Druck und Papier. Sie versprachen mir 'ein sehr Welt erfreuliches Buch' zu dem dieses als Beigewicht gerechnet sei, das Verhießene ist nicht da. Was ich bekomme, ist das gemeinte wohl nicht und bereits gedruckt.⁸¹

Although Campe had already made arrangements for its publication, the rest of Heine's manuscript did not arrive in time to be printed and sold for the Easter fair in Leipsic, so that Campe, according to the rules of the book-trade, could not collect for this work until two years later. Campe was greatly discouraged by Heine's delay and indifference and wrote to him: "Mein Leiden dabei ist, daß ich alle Unkosten: Honorar, Druck und Papier jetzt bezahlen muß und erst Ostermesse 1883 Einnahmen dafür erwarten kann: zögern Sie mit dem Reste. Und diese Auslagen belaufen sich auf 3000 M."⁸²

To this justified complaint—it was one of Heine's shortcomings that he never submitted his manuscript at the time stipulated⁸³—Heine's anger was aroused in a provoking reply. In it he held Campe responsible for his censorship difficulties and accused him of having published the latest works of his despised *Verlagskollegen*, namely Ludwig Börne.⁸⁴ Campe restated and calmly refuted every one of Heine's accusations and concluded: "Sie sind also, kurz sei es gesagt, mystifiziert oder belogen. Was Sie da sagen, läßt als Phantasiestück sich lesen und erzählen, aber die Praxis ist ganz anders." But Campe thought he recognized the real motives behind Heine's meanness:

Weshalb Sie mich mit schlechten Gründen und noch schlechteren Reden bedienen, das durchschaue ich! Sie fühlen, daß ich gerechte Ursache habe, Ihnen gegründete Vorwürfe wegen der Zögerei bei Salon III zu machen, wo Sie kein einziges Versprechen erfüllten.⁸⁵ Um mir die Rede abzuschneiden, überhäufen Sie mich

⁸¹ Campe to Heine, August 5, 1836.

⁸² Campe to Heine, November 15, 1836.

⁸³ On October 4, 1836, Campe writes to Heine: "Sie sehen ich vergesse Sie nicht: Sie vergessen jedoch mich immer und stets: wenn Sie liefern sollen." And again on April 4, 1838: "Ende Februar sollte ich schon ein neues Manuskript haben, nun datieren Sie den Termin, den Sie sich selbst gestellt haben, schon um ein Beträchtliches weiter aus; Sie sind in dieser Hinsicht unverwundlich!"

⁸⁴ Heine to Campe, December 20, 1836.

⁸⁵ Heine failed to produce a "Welt erfreuliches Buch," and the other manuscript did not arrive in time and, when Heine sent the last sheets, the length was only 16 instead of 21 signatures required to dispense with the censor.

mit Scheltworten! Das heie ich schlecht gehandelt. Sie verstehen vom Geschftsleben, wo es sich um Geld handelt, genug um zu wissen, da solche Verhltnisse auf Gegenseitigkeit basiert sein msen, sollen sie angenehm sein. Ihre Interessen wahren Sie, die meinigen treten Sie mit Fen! Ich mu haushalten; nur dadurch, da ich mein Geld nicht verstecke, bleibe ich bei Krften! In dem Salon stecken 3000 M, die ich zwei Jahre entbehren mu! Es ist ein rgerliches Geschft!⁸⁶

Heine likewise paid no attention to Campe's repeated requests to prepare a second edition of the *Buch der Lieder*.⁸⁷ In fact, it seemed that Heine tried everything in his power to antagonize Campe and to bring about a complete break.

In 1837 Heine had accumulated a debt of 20,000 francs with little hope of raising this sum from Campe or from his rich uncle Salomon with whom he was then on bad terms.⁸⁸ So he looked for a new publisher who would pay him a large sum for the publication rights of a *Gesamtausgabe*. Through the efforts of August Lewald, he established connections with three publishers in Stuttgart and for a while the prospects for a lucrative author's fee looked very promising. Soon, however, matters turned out differently. Cotta declined to publish Heine's works fearing that such an enterprise might induce the government to suppress the publications of his entire concern;⁸⁹ Frank Jr., a part-owner of the Brodhag Publishing House, as Heine accidentally learned, was imprisoned on the Asperg, which made a business connection with this firm inadvisable.⁹⁰ The only concern from which Heine received an actual offer was the Scheible Verlag, and Lewald assured him that its offer was by far the most liberal of them all.⁹¹ Scheible stated as fundamental terms that Heine would have to revise and modify the contents of all his works, so as not to provoke the censors, that he would give as volume one, his Biography, i.e., the *Memoirs*, which he had mentioned so often at that time, and that Scheible would, for a period of ten years, receive the exclusive publication rights for all of Heine's works, including those newspaper articles which had not yet appeared in book form, and that he would have the priority rights for all future publications. If Heine agreed to

⁸⁶ Campe to Heine, December 30, 1836.

⁸⁷ Campe to Heine, May 20, 1836, July 11, 1836, August 5, 1836, October 4, 1836, October 21, 1836, and February 20, 1837.

⁸⁸ Heine to Campe, December 20, 1836.

⁸⁹ August Lewald to Heine, May 24, 1836, and April 13, 1837; both unpublished.

⁹⁰ August Lewald to Heine, December 8, 1836, and December 18, 1836; both unpublished. See also Heine to Hvas, February 24, 1837.

⁹¹ August Lewald to Heine, February 6, 1837; unpublished.

all these conditions, Scheible offered 10,000 francs immediately, 5000 francs in September, 1838, and 5000 francs in April, 1839; but the latter only, if Heine's *Gesamtausgabe* until then enjoyed a free sale in Prussia.⁹² The realization of the conditional 5000 francs was more than problematical, in fact, there was no indication that the government would change its attitude toward Heine's publications in the near future; also Campe still held the copyright for most of Heine's works, the *Tragödien* were still the property of Dümmler, and Heine needed the entire 20,000 francs right away. So, from a practical and financial point of view, these negotiations turned out to be most disillusioning. Heine now realized that Campe was the only man who, in spite of adverse conditions, might be prevailed upon to pay him this sum at once. Although the sale of Heine's books had dropped to a new low and Campe had his warehouses stocked with unsold copies, Heine put on a bold front and out of the blue sky offered Campe, for the sake of their old friendship, the publication rights of a *Gesamtausgabe* for eleven years for the sum of 20,000 francs, impressing upon him that other publishers were willing to pay him this and more.⁹³

Campe, although deeply hurt by Heine's method, replied in a calm and friendly spirit, worthy of the highest admiration:

Gestern ließ Ihre Mutter mich ersuchen, heute um 11 Uhr zu ihr zu kommen, sie habe mir Mitteilungen zu machen. Ich bin dagewesen und habe mit Erstaunen vernommen, daß die Hindeutungen im Schwäbischen Merkur und im Fränkischen Merkur keine leeren Gerüchte sind, wie ich es betrachtete, sondern daß Scheible ankündigt und Brodhag mich vertreten läßt.

Dieses von der Zeit und dem Bedürfnis keineswegs geförderte Unternehmen kommt mir ganz ungelegen. Ich begreife nicht, wie Sie mit Leuten unterhandeln, über eine Sache, die zur Hälfte mir gehört, ohne mir es zu sagen, ja indem Sie mich Ihrer fort-dauernden Freundschaft usw. versichern und doch Feindliches gegen mich im Schilde führten. Runde, ehrliche und offene Sprache allein, kann hier zum gewünschten Ziele führen, nie der von Ihnen zuerst betretene Weg!

Was heißt Verlagsrecht? Ich habe gegen das Unternehmen zunächst einzuwenden, daß ich der Verleger Ihrer Werke bin, folglich nach den bestehenden Gesetzen im vollkommnen Besitze der

⁹² August Lewald to Heine, February 1, 1837; Scheible to Heine, February 2, 1837; both unpublished. See also Heine to August Lewald, February 11, 1837.

⁹³ Heine's letter to Campe, March 1, 1837, discussing Scheible's terms, presents the offer in a much too favorable light, omitting many of the unfavorable conditions and loop-holes. Heine moreover speaks of florins, a much more valuable coin than the franc. The other two concerns are completely misrepresented, as Heine never had any offer from them.

Verlagsrechte mich befinde, aus denen mich unfreiwillig keiner drängen soll und kann. Was wären denn die Verlagsrechte, oder überhaupt das Recht über literarisches Eigentum, wenn der Autor ohne den Verleger oder der Verleger ohne den Autor tun könnte, was jeder will?! Ich beziehe mich hier auf das preußische Landrecht, das Sie sonder Zweifel dort finden.

Indes was hilft Hader und Streit? Damit ist Ihnen nichts geholfen und mir nichts gedient! Versuchen wir daher auf eine andere Weise dem Dinge eine Richtung zu geben, die beiden Teilen konveniert. Ich sehe zur Genüge, Sie wollen sich dem Könige Salomon nicht unterwerfen, Sie brauchen Geld und ich soll es geben, wofür Sie mir auf 10 Jahre den Debit einer Gesamtausgabe, uneingeschränkt, von Ihren Schriften anbieten. Eine solche Idee hat mir allerdings vorgeschwebt, aber ich dachte, daß für einen Autor, dessen Haupttätigkeit erst recht beginnen muß, beginnen wird, die Zeit dafür noch nicht gekommen sei, daß es verständiger wäre, diese Absicht auf spätere Zeit zu verschieben. Blicken Sie auf die Zeit, auf die Beschränkung der Presse, blicken Sie auf Ihre Bücher und wie Sie schreiben und geschrieben haben, dann mag ich die Lücken nicht sehen, welche der Zensor veranlassen wird. Ihr Glaube: die Regierungen würden milde und gnädig verfahren gegen ihren lieben Sohn, Heinrich Heine, den kann ich nicht teilen.

Campe is willing to help Heine in his financial distress, and adds:

Fertigen Sie die Präliminarien zu einem solchen Kontrakte an und senden mir solche. Über den Zeitpunkt der Erscheinung müssen wir uns verständigen, den ich aus Gründen zurücklege, bis ich etwas Luft bekomme. Dagegen stelle ich Ihnen die Zahlungen zu den Terminen zu, wie Sie genannt haben, gleichviel ob das Werk gedruckt würde oder nicht.⁹⁴

Since Heine was in dire need of money, Campe instructed him to draw 5000 francs and that he would settle for the rest later.⁹⁵ Only when Heine took Campe's kindness for weakness and demanded that he sign on the dotted line, did Campe show his teeth:

In Ihrem Brief vom 1. d. wundern Sie sich, daß ich nicht poltere. Warum soll ich poltern? Darum stände es mir zu, daß Sie nicht offen, sondern listig zu Werke gingen. Das ist mir erst jetzt klar geworden; während ich den Freund in Bedrängnis glaubte und zur Hilfe zu eilen mich gespornt fühlte, und wirklich meine Hilfe bot.

Sie wollen mir bedeuten, ich besäße kein Verlagsrecht Ihrer Schriften? das finde ich, in der Tat, wunderbar. Sie glauben dafür schalten und walten zu können, wie es Ihnen beliebt, ohne mich zu fragen? Sie irren in doppelter Beziehung: daher meine Ruhe.

⁹⁴ Campe to Heine, February 21, 1837.

⁹⁵ Campe to Heine, March 9, 1837.

Womit können Sie Ihre Anmaßung als ehrlicher Mann stützen; haben Sie einen Buchstaben, der Sie dazu befähigt? Nein! Dagegen kann ich Ihnen mit der Praxis und allen möglichen Rechten entgentreten, die meine Ansprüche daran sicher stellen, wäre ich dazu gezwungen, diese zu verteidigen . . . Hätte ich an Ihren Schriften kein ausgemachtes, sondern nur ein übliches Recht, ich würde sie als Nachdruck anklagen und würde ich Autor und Verleger zu finden wissen; ich würde meine Sache schon so gewinnen.

Zwischen uns aber bestehen außerdem ganz spezielle kontraktliche Verhältnisse, die allen solchen poetischen Versuchen den Pass abschneiden und rein unmöglich machen ~~ich~~ ich verweise auf unsern Kontrakt vom 16. Oktober 1827, den wir wahrlich nicht zum Possenspiel gemacht haben wollen! Genügt Ihnen das natürliche Recht nicht, wollen Sie alle Erinnerungen mit Füßen treten, die Sie binden sollten und müßten, wenn Sie ein Gedächtnis besitzen, so wird Sie dieses Dokument in Ihre Grenzen verweisen, die Sie leichtfertig überschreiten wollen! Heine, was ist verheißene und hundertmal beteuerte Freundschaft etc. für ein Ding? Wenn solches mir bei Ihnen begegnet—wem, welchem Autor soll ich künftig vertrauen!! Ich gestehe Ihnen, daß ich von Ihnen eine bessere Meinung hegte, als Mensch und Dichter habe ich Sie gleich hochgeachtet und diese Achtung möchte ich so gerne ungeschmälert erhalten! . . . Ich weise auf jenen Kontrakt hin, welcher Unterschied ist in Ton und Abfassung gegen diesen weit ausführlicheren und für Sie wichtigeren, wo ICH einzig und allein Opfer bringe, nicht Sie. Sie geben nichts Neues, sondern nur das, was mein Eigentum ist, wird noch einmal abgedruckt.

Warum wandten Sie sich nicht ehrlich und offen gleich, wie der Gedanke aufstieg eine Sammlung zu veranstalten, an mich? Sie zogen es vor gen Stuttgart zu pilgern, um mir einige Briefe vorlegen zu können! Es wäre würdiger gewesen, wenn Sie direkt zu mir gekommen wären, dann hätte ich bei Zeiten meine Dispositionen für das Geld und den Druck nehmen können. Jetzt wird mir die Geschichte wie ein Stein an den Kopf geworfen und ich kann nichts tun, als die Wunde, die das verursacht zu heilen.

Bis jetzt habe ich mit keinem Autor Streit gehabt, und so denke ich, soll zwischen uns auch alles friedlich abgehen. Sollten Sie jedoch müllnern wollen, dann streite ich lieber j e t z t mit Ihnen, wo ich rüstig und kampfgewöhnt bin, als nach 10 Jahren, wo ich im 56sten Jahre stehen werde, wo ich nicht so schlagfertig stehen möchte. Nach Ihren Rechten streckte ich nie die Hand aus, aber auch Sie sollten das nicht tun, Sie müssen sie respektieren, nicht usurpieren wollen. Wir sind einmal Compagnons und der Eine darf ohne den Andern nicht darüber nach Belieben, ohne den Andern zu Rate zu ziehen, schalten oder walten wollen.

Den Absatz Ihrer Bücher überschätzen Sie, 10 Jahre lang arbeiten wir zusammen und nur allein die Reisebilder sind zweimal

gedruckt. Ihr Hauptbuch, das Buch der Lieder ist erst einmal gedruckt. Von den französischen Zuständen ist die halbe Auflage noch da, vom Salon sind 1313 abgegangen. Wast ist denn da, das Sie zu so gewaltigen Ansprüchen auffordert?

In diesem Jahre kann ich an die Herausgabe Ihrer Schriften nicht denken. . . . gerne möchte ich es drei Jahre bis 1840 aufschieben, wenn es Ihnen genehm wäre. Krieg oder fortwährende Ruhe kommen der Presse zustatten. Diese ist es zunächst, die mich bei Ihren Schriften in große Besorgnis bringt und wo ich das Ende nicht absehe, was geschehen soll.⁹⁶

In conclusion, Campe emphasizes again that the law is entirely on his side: "Für die Richtigkeit meiner Sätze muß Ihr Kontrakt vom 16. Oktober 1827 sprechen. 'Geschrieben ist geschrieben und steht fest, weil es Dinte ist.'"⁹⁶

Although Campe saw through Heine's scheme and had him completely in his power, he helped him in his financial plight and magnanimously paid him the sum of 20,000 francs in return for the publication rights of all his published works for a period of eleven years until 1848. That the *Gesamtausgabe*, under existing conditions, could not be published for years is clear from Campe's next letter:

Lust zum Druck habe ich; aber eine Gesamtausgabe ist kein einzelnes Bändchen! wo es gleichgültig ist, ob es so oder so geht. Eine Gesamtausgabe muß durch eine Anzeige poussiert werden, muß die höchst möglichste Publizität erhalten! Bin ich da gehemmt bei 13 Millionen Preußen, wozu Hannover, Sachsen, Holstein, Braunschweig und Gott weiß wie sie alle heißen die noch kommen: da macht das wohl einen erklecklichen und wohl zu achtenden Unterschied, den Sie, so gut als ich, begreifen. Reden Sie daher nicht so von mir, ich wollte nicht! Die Verhältnisse des Buchhandels sind nicht die alten! Man hat auch da das Netz enger gezogen. Bedenken Sie die Menge von Bücherverboten in Preußen. Daneben das Gesetz, wer ein verbotenes Buch verkauft, zahlt 50 M, das zweite Mal 200, das dritte Mal wird ihm die Bude geschlossen. Glauben Sie, daß solche Gesetze gegeben werden, daß nur der Kleister an den Straßenecken sie halte? Nein, es ist bitterlich ernst damit.⁹⁷

Also it must not be forgotten that Campe still had a large supply of Heine's works in stock which would have depreciated considerably with the appearance of a *Gesamtausgabe*. Campe moreover believed that Heine was losing ground as an author; this he emphatically impressed upon him: "Überhaupt Sie sind in Deutsch-

⁹⁶ Campe to Heine, March 24, 1837.

⁹⁷ Campe to Heine, December 31, 1837.

land nicht mehr zu Hause. Sie müssen Besseres als Salon III geben, sonst sind Sie darunter durch! Ich wünschte Gutzkow setzte Ihnen das einmal offen auseinander."^{97a} The purchase of Heine's *Gesamtausgabe*, therefore, really meant that Campe most generously presented the poet with a check of 20,000 francs for certain privileges he had already acquired and which he could not, and did not, exploit during the period of the contract.

The purchase of the *Gesamtausgabe* voided all future payments of author's fees for new editions, and so the principal source of misunderstanding between author and publisher was automatically removed. From now on, all of Heine's efforts were directed toward securing the largest possible fees for his new works. It is significant that Campe always met Heine's figure as long as Heine dealt with him frankly and directly, and friction was produced only when Heine employed an agent in the hope of securing better terms.

During the following years the suppression of Heine's works in Germany made itself felt very keenly. Campe reports on this situation on April 18, 1839:

Wie diese Verbote schaden, mögen Sie am richtigsten daraus ersehen, wie lange ich Ihnen schrieb, der erste Reisebilderband ginge auf die Neige; vor 2 oder 3 Jahren nannte ich Ihnen die Zahl des Vorrates. Noch immer ist genug, so daß es des Druckens nicht bedarf. Daraus mögen Sie den Schluß ziehen, wie sich alles daran gewöhnt und wie die Artikel flau abgesetzt werden. Ob die Verbote allein so wirken, ob Laueheit beim Publikum eingetreten ist? Ich kann es mit Bestimmtheit nicht melden; auffallend ist es jedenfalls, daß es so ist. Der Reiz des Verbotes hat seine Wirkung verloren.⁹⁸

In 1840, Heine had finished his *Börne* and through his mother offered it to Campe for 2000 M. Campe realized that this new book was a *Tendenzschrift* and would prove another financial failure; he hesitated to pay the price, fearing: "Börnes Leben wird das Schicksal der Salons, der französischen Zustände, der romantischen Schule, des Adels und der Tragödien teilen."⁹⁹ In their direct negotiations the same month, however, Campe soon came to terms about *Börne* and the fourth volume of the *Salon*:

Sie verlangten 2000 M Honorar; die konnte ich nicht bewilligen, weil von ferneren Auflagen, von Seiten Ihrer Mutter, nicht die Rede war. Und bei einer solchen Anzahlung die allein 1000 BEZAHLTE Exemplare wegrafft, bliebe mir für Druck, Papier, Mühe und Arbeit und Risiko nichts; denn mehr als 1000 Exemplare setze ich von Ihren Büchern im ersten

^{97a} Campe to Heine, December 31, 1837.

⁹⁸ Campe to Heine, April 18, 1839.

⁹⁹ Campe to Betty Heine, February 12, 1840; unpublished.

Jahre nie ab. Sie sehen also, daß ich kaufmännisch Ihnen das nicht gewähren kann. In 8 Tagen muß ich Ihnen 1000 M zahlen. 20,000 Franken haben Sie und ich habe bis jetzt nicht die Zinsen von diesem Kapitale gewonnen. Sie sagten, Sie wollten mich nicht drücken. Gleichwohl stellten Sie eine Forderung, die ich Ihnen so nicht gewähren kann, wie Sie sie verlangen. Gleichwohl will ich sie gewähren, aber auf andere Weise, die nur in der Zahlungsart abweicht. Den (näher zu bestimmenden) Tag zahle ich Ihnen 1000 M Banco, andere 1000 M Banco bei der zweiten Auflage. So haben Sie Ihren Willen und mir gewähren Sie eine Gerechtigkeit, die billig ist.¹⁰⁰

During these negotiations Heine threatened to sell out to Schlesinger who, he said, was willing to pay more than 4000 francs for the work.¹⁰¹ Only when Campe caught Heine at his bluff and told him to do so,¹⁰² did they agree that *Börne* was to bring 1000 M for the first edition and another 1000 M for the second. Instead of 60 louis d'or, as originally stipulated, Campe offered to increase the fee for *Salon IV* to 1000 M.¹⁰³

Börne, as predicted, proved another complete fiasco, and so did the fourth volume of the *Salon*. Campe, who was dumbfounded by the small number of copies sold, reported to Heine a year and a half after the appearance of the two works:

Von Heines *Börne* gingen ab 926 Exemplare; vom *Salon*, vierter Teil, nur 659 Exemplare! Vom dritten Bande dagegen gingen im ersten Jahre 1313 Exemplare ab. Nach der Regel müßten vom vierten Teil noch weit mehr abgesetzt werden, als es beim dritten der Fall war, weil mittlerweile sich die Zahl der Abnehmer von 1 bis 3 doch mehrte, die den vierten Teil bedürften. Dennoch ist die Zahl der Käufer um die Hälfte gesunken; ich bin überrascht und erstaunt.¹⁰⁴

When, in spite of these annihilating reports, Heine insisted on knowing when the second edition of his *Börne* would finally appear,¹⁰⁵ Campe impressed upon him the hopelessness of the situation:

Das Resultat von *Börne* habe ich Ihnen der Wahrheit gemäß gemeldet; ich kann hinzufügen, daß im ganzen vorigen Jahre nicht über 30-40 abgegangen sind . . . *Börne* ist einmal ungnädig

¹⁰⁰ Campe to Heine, February 25, 1840.

¹⁰¹ Heine to Campe, March 8, 1840. There was no definite offer by Schlesinger; he merely stated that he would meet any of Campe's figures, whereupon Heine stated that he would probably ask more than 4000 francs.

¹⁰² Campe to Heine, March 14, 1840.

¹⁰³ Campe to Heine, April 3, 1840.

¹⁰⁴ Campe to Heine, December 6, 1841.

¹⁰⁵ Heine to Campe, February 28, 1842.

aufgenommen, und darin liegt alles vereinigt; man will ihn nicht. Braucht es mehr als dieses entschiedenen Willens? Börne ist . . . der Hausgötze der Leute, ein Blutzeuge der Freiheit, konsequent stets ein und derselben Sache treu, niemals schwankend gewesen! Sie besudelten, wie die Leute instimmig sagen, diesen. Damit haben Sie unglaublich verloren! Das Resultat des vierten Salonbandes beweist Ihnen das, wovon wenigstens an die früheren Käufer zwischen 15-1600 hätten abgehen müssen und abgesetzt wären, wenn Sie das Volk, vornehm oder geringe nicht so tief verletzt hätten. Glauben Sie was Sie wollen; das ist der Stand, den Sie damit sich gegeben haben. Ein Notschrei ertönte durch Deutschland. Auf eine neue Auflage dürfen Sie ganz gut verzichten! Es sei denn, daß sie auf dem Lager in Feuer aufgingen und der Vollständigkeit wegen ergänzt werden müßten, was auf dem Wege des Handels nie und nimmer erzielt wird.¹⁰⁶

Although a few months later the great Hamburg fire actually did destroy one-third of Campe's stock,¹⁰⁷ no new edition became necessary during Heine's lifetime. Heine however confident of his own greatness and distrustful of Campe's honesty, persisted in the publication of a new Börne edition, so that Campe finally deemed it advisable to tell him very bluntly what his actual status as an author was:

Ihren Börne anlangend, auf den Sie zielen, versichere ich Sie, daß Sie davon nie eine neue Auflage erleben, wie ich Ihnen vorher gesagt habe. Wenn ich Ihnen sage, daß dies Buch Ihr russischer Feldzug ist: so dürfen Sie mir glauben! Sie haben seitdem nichts erscheinen lassen; das Publikum hat Ihnen nicht vergeben, ist Ihnen gram und seitdem ist der Absatz Ihrer Schriften um 3/4 gegen sonst gesunken; und ich wäre zu beklagen, wenn ich keine gangbareren Artikel hätte. Glauben Sie, daß das Publikum sich nicht rächt? Und das tut es. Die alten Freunde sind befriedigt; der Nachwuchs ist beleidigt, urteilt, wie die allgemeine Stimme berichtet. Was soll man dabei tun, wenn Sie selbst nichts tun! Von Ihrem Börne sind viele hier verbrannt; am 20. Juni 1842 lagen in Leipzig 1357 Exemplare; das ist für alle Zeit, von diesem Buche genug; Sie dürfen mir das glauben!

Für Sie hat sich vieles in Deutschland und zwar sehr zu Ihrem Nachteil geändert. Sie wissen, jedes Ding hat seine Zeit; auch die Literatur. Ich habe Sie zeitig gewarnt: Sie hörten nicht; Sie wollten nicht hören, kann ich dafür? Daß Sie zurückgedrängt sind, der Geschichte mehr anheim fallen, als dem Leben, kann ich das ändern? Sie zwingen mich durch Ihre Befangenheit,

¹⁰⁶ Campe to Heine, March 6, 1842.

¹⁰⁷ Campe to Dingelstedt, May 22, 1842; unpublished. Campe to Heine, May 2, 1843.

es Ihnen zu berichten: weil es die Wahrheit ist. Sonst würde ich über diese Dinge schweigen, die einem Autor niemals angenehm zu hören sind; aber es ist so. Das Buch der Lieder ist das einzige, was seinen Gang geht, weil die Jugend sich damit befreundet hat und so fort und fort seinen Abfluß behauptet. Ihnen ist das lieb, denn das Buch ist Ihr Stolz und sichert sich der Zukunft; dagegen geht es mit den prosaischen Sachen flau, wie Sie aus dem 2ten Reisebilderbande sehen, den ich so lange für nötig erklärte, aber nicht nötig ward, bis das Feuer zur Hilfe kam. Kombinieren Sie diesen einen Fall, dann werden Sie, wenn Sie auch nicht wollen, in meinem Berichte Wahrheit finden. Wohin Ihre Sachen noch lebhaft gehen, ist Rußland, Schweden, kurz das Ausland; in Deutschland ist es still.¹⁰⁸

In June, 1844, Heine offered, and sold to, Campe his *Neue Gedichte* together with an enlarged edition of *Atta Troll*, which the year before had already appeared in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*,¹⁰⁹ for 1200 M., and his *Wintermärchen* for another 1000 M.¹¹⁰

When Heine visited Hamburg in 1844, author and publisher drew up a new contract. Heine wanted to procure a yearly income for himself and his widow, Campe wished to secure the continuation of the publication rights for Heine's published works, which expired in 1848, as well as the priority rights for his new books. For these privileges Campe paid Heine 200 M. yearly until 1848 and thereafter a yearly revenue of 1200 M., which after Heine's death was to be continued in full to his widow.¹¹¹ This new arrangement, as it turned out, was paid to Heine for eight years and to his widow for twenty-seven additional years and represented a total investment of 42,800 M., or roughly 80,000 francs.

In return for these concessions, Heine agreed to start immediately on the revision of his works for the publication of the *Gesamtausgabe*. When in 1846 a false report of his death had circulated, Campe became alarmed and asked him how the *Gesamtausgabe* was progressing, to which inquiry Heine replied by asking for copies of his works. Campe was startled at this request and wrote on October 26, 1846:

¹⁰⁸ Campe to Heine, May 2, 1843.

¹⁰⁹ Published in *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, Nos. 1-10 (January 4 to March 8, 1843). It is stated by Heine biographers that Heine withdrew the manuscript from Cotta to favor his friend Laube with it, provided he met the terms of Cotta. The fact is that Cotta had to refuse publication because of the Pfister episode in it; and Pfister was Cotta's literary editor.

¹¹⁰ Heine to Campe, June 5, 1844; also November 4, 1844.

¹¹¹ Heine to Campe, November 4, 1844, and December 19, 1844; Heine to Gustav Heine, December 17, 1850; Campe to Gathy, April 17, 1854. Here the amount of the yearly pension is incorrectly given at 1500 marks, instead of 1200.

Behufs der Gesamtausgabe lieferte ich Ihnen schon drei, ich glaube viermal Ihre sämtlichen Produktionen, sogar die bei Dümmler erschienenen Tragödien zweimal; und jetzt sagen Sie: daß ich für diesen Zweck sie Ihnen noch einmal senden soll! Darf ich glauben, daß Sie dieser Arbeit noch garnicht gedacht haben sollten? Das beunruhigt mich bei dem Stande Ihrer Gesundheit, wie Sie sie mir schildern. Allerdings ziehe ich davon, wie diese stehen soll, einen tüchtigen Rabat von nur 80% ab, dann werden wir mal das richtige Maß treffen; aber immerhin ist ein solcher Zustand bedenklich genug zu bitten, die wichtigste Angelegenheit zwischen uns, die Gesamtausgabe Ihrer Werke, mit mehr Ernst und Sorgfalt zu behandeln, wie Sie mir durch jene Insinuation zugänglich gemacht haben.¹¹²

Heine replied by sending a draft for the arrangement of his works in nineteen volumes and stating that, in the case of his death, he had already appointed Detmold and Laube as literary administrators,¹¹³ thus leaving Campe under the impression that the *Gesamtausgabe* was well under way. Finally, in March, 1848, the great day had arrived:

Die Presse ist seit dem 8.d. hier frei und wird es auch soweit die deutsche Zunge reicht . . . kurz wir haben es und das ist es, worauf ich für die unverstümmelte Herausgabe Ihrer Werke gewartet und gezögert habe . . . Anzeigen wollte ich Ihnen nur, daß ich zum Beginn der Werke gerüstet bin und beginnen werde, wie ich von Ihrer Seite mich dazu ausgerüstet sehe, worüber ich Ihrer Mitteilungs gewärtig bin.¹¹⁴

When after five weeks Heine had not yet answered this important inquiry, Campe became impatient and asked Heine's mother¹¹⁵ to forward a note reminding him that "bis heute erheilt ich auf meine sämtliche Fragen keine Antwort."¹¹⁶ Heine now realized that he was caught in the act, that he did not have a single line to show to Campe, although every one of Campe's letters during the last four years had discussed the change of political conditions in Germany, predicting the approaching freedom of the press, and urged Heine to have everything ready for the *Gesamtausgabe*. So Heine resorted to his customary method and shifted the entire responsibility to Campe:

Warum haben Sie also gewartet, warum hatte ich also keine Antwort voriges Jahr, als ich Ihnen meinen Prospekt zur Gesamt-

¹¹² Campe to Heine, October 26, 1846.

¹¹³ Heine to Campe, November 12, 1846.

¹¹⁴ Campe to Heine, March 15, 1848.

¹¹⁵ Campe to Betty Heine, April 18, 1848.

¹¹⁶ Campe to Heine, April 18, 1848.

ausgabe schickte? Damals war ich noch im stande zu arbeiten . . . Ich hoffe dieser Tage im stande zu seyn, Ihnen in Bezug auf Ihr vorletztes Schreiben mehr zu sagen. Schicken Sie mir jedenfalls gleich Abschrift des oberwähnten Prospektus, und Ihre Wünsche in Betreff der Reihenfolge der Schriften sollen bey der Gesamtausgabe beachtet werden; hinzuschreiben kann ich jetzt leider nichts mehr—warum warteten Sie?¹¹⁷

Campe now fully realized that Heine had fooled him for four years about the preparation of the work for which he had paid him 20,000 francs, and for which he had agreed to pay him and his widow a yearly income of 1200 M. for life. He felt so disgusted at Heine's laziness, indifference, impudence, and lack of responsibility that he refused to have any further dealings with him and left his letters unanswered for over three years.¹¹⁸ During this period Heine became fatally ill; it was the beginning of his *Matratzengruft* which extended from 1848 to 1856. Campe knew of Heine's illness, but never took it seriously, as Heine had been ailing all his life.¹¹⁹ When some mutual friends finally convinced him that Heine would never leave his bed again, he decided to make up and in 1851 went to Paris where both became completely reconciled. The result of this visit was the purchase of the *Romanzero* for the sum of 6000 marks.¹²⁰

Campe advertised this book by every possible method and printed immediately a combined first and second edition of 5000 copies,¹²¹ and added a third and fourth edition within a few months. Altogether he probably printed 8500 copies.¹²² Although the sale of this book looked at first very promising, it proved in the end a disappointment when the work was suppressed in Prussia, Austria, and Bavaria on the grounds of immorality and most of the distributed copies were returned by the book sellers.¹²³

Faust, for which Heine received 1000 marks,¹²⁴ and which was published at the same time, proved a good seller; Campe wrote about it: "Ihr Faust wird 1000 mal mehr gelesen als Düntzer und Reichlin Meldeg Schriften."¹²⁵

¹¹⁷ Heine to Campe, April 25, 1848.

¹¹⁸ Campe sent no letters to Heine between March 16, 1848, and July 22, 1851.

¹¹⁹ Campe to Heine, October 26, 1846.

¹²⁰ Campe to Heine, July 23, 1851.

¹²¹ Campe to Heine, September 14, 1851. Heine exaggerated to Meißner in his letter of March 1, 1852.

¹²² Campe to Heine, September 23, 1851, October 5, 1851, and November 2-11, 1851.

¹²³ Campe to Heine; June 20, 1847, October 27, 1851, and February 21, 1852.

¹²⁴ Campe to Heine, November 2, 1851; see also Heine to Campe, June 20, 1847, and October 27, 1851.

¹²⁵ Campe to Heine, October 5, 1851.

The publication of the *Vermischte Schriften* was accompanied by a most unpleasant prelude. When in 1852 Gustav visited his brother Heinrich in Paris, they devised a scheme to force Campe to accept the author's terms. In 1844 Heine and Campe had signed a contract according to which Campe had the priority rights for Heine's new publications provided he met the terms of his competitors. When meeting Campe in Hamburg, Gustav informed him that a literary society in Vienna had appointed a certain Bacher to bid for and publish Heine's *Vermischte Schriften*.¹²⁶ Bacher offered 6000 marks. If Campe wished to exercise his priority rights, he would have to meet this figure. Gustav however was very awkward in his negotiations and Campe immediately saw through these "machinations." When in the end Gustav became impertinent and told Campe that a contract was like a cravat that one could untie and retie according to one's liking, Campe became so incensed that he showed Gustav the door. Heine's youngest brother Maximilian, who happened to be in Hamburg, came to very harsh words with his brother over this affair and tried everything in his power to straighten the matter out with Campe. Maximilian, apparently believing that Heine was in earnest about letting Gustav publish his *Vermischte Schriften*, wrote to Paris about this episode:

Da Du diesen klugen Bruder [Gustav] im vorigen Sommer persönlich wiederzusehen das Vergnügen hattest (was nach 22 Jahren noch heute für mich zu viel war), so mußt Du mehr als krank sein, wenn Du mit diesem Schwindler, dessen lügenhaftes Wort auch den ersten Himmels-Engel kompromittieren muß, Kompagnie machen willst. Da schlage ich Dir lieber das Feuilleton des Beobachters an der Spree, oder des Hamburger Erzählers für Deine Arbeiten vor; wenigstens bist Du gegen die Lächerlichkeit geschützt. Jetzt mache was Du willst, ich habe ohne Scheu, aus zu großer Liebe für Dich die ganze rücksichtslose Wahrheit ausgesprochen, der Name Heinrich Heine gilt mir so viel als selbst mein Gewissen. Als Lohn für alle meine Selbstverleugnung bitte ich, daß in Zukunft nie mein Name mehr in eine Angelegenheit eingemischt werde, die mit Gustav in Verbindung steht . . . Ich bin mit den unangenehmsten Gefühlen nochmals bei Campe gewesen und habe ein letztes Wort gesprochen. Mit Mühe habe ich ihn zum Sprechen gebracht . . . Er gibt tausend Taler. Das ist sehr wenig; aber mein Rat geht dahin, und das sage ich als Schlußwort in dieser Sache, lieber 1000 Taler mit Ruhe, Ehrlichkeit und An-

¹²⁶ Campe to Heine, August 26, 1852. Bacher, so Gustav stated, was also authorized to pay Heine 30,000 francs for the publication rights of a *Gesamtausgabe*. Gustav Heine, who was owner and editor of the *Wiener Fremdenblatt*, was to act as publisher. Apparently Heine tried to repeat the game of 1837.

stand von Campe, als 2000 von Gustav. Seit 30 Jahren verhandelt Ihr gegenseitig, und in 31 Jahren werdet Ihr Euch auch schon verständigen, und am besten ohne Vermittlung. Ich habe jetzt die Überzeugung gewonnen, daß Campe mehr Liebe und Sorgen für Dich hegt, als oft sehr nahe stehende, und Campe ist ein gebildeter Mann, der Heinrich Heine immer zu achten versteht. Nochmals verständige Dich direkt mit ihm, und wolle in Deinen kranken Tagen nicht klüger sein, als in Deinen gesunden.¹²⁷

This quarrel led to a final break between Gustav and Maximilian which even Heine's mother was not able to patch up. This unpleasant prelude postponed the publication of the *Vermischte Schriften* until 1854, after Heine had offered this work again to Campe for 6000 marks.¹²⁸ Although Campe at first insisted on paying this amount in two instalments, 4000 marks for the first edition and 2000 for the second¹²⁹ and although Heine insulted him grossly when Campe did not immediately acknowledge the receipt of the manuscript, Campe finally consented graciously to meet Heine's terms of 6000 marks in full and even added another 2000 marks for a second edition¹³⁰ which Heine did not live to see.

Campe's last business transaction with Heine was in connection with a pirated American edition for which Heine was asked to write a Foreword. The fear that Heine might succumb to such an offer and break the contract of 1844, and particularly mindful of the cravat episode with Gustav, sent Campe on an unexpected visit to Paris in 1855. Heine treated Campe in a repulsive manner and, taking unfair advantage of Campe's predicament, secured additional guarantees for the security of his widow in return for Heine's promise that he would live up to the contract of 1844 to the very letter.¹³¹ Both men kept their agreements; Heine, who died a year later, did not write a line in German for another publisher and the

¹²⁷ Maximilian Heine to Heine, September 7, 1852; unpublished.

¹²⁸ Gathy to Campe, September 12, 1853; Dr. Trittau to Campe, February 1, 1854.

¹²⁹ Campe to Heine, April 8, 1854, and April 17, 1854.

¹³⁰ Campe to Heine, May 11, 1854; see also Heine to Campe, May 20, 1854.

¹³¹ Wadepuhl, Walter, "Zur amerikanischen Gesamtausgabe von Heines Werken." In *Monatshefte für den deutschen Unterricht*, XXXI, (February, 1939), pp. 78-86. Charlotte Embden writes to her brother Heinrich about the effect that Heine's vile treatment had upon Campe, on March 10, 1855: "Ein Glück, daß ich vorbereitet war, denn das As von Campe hat mir die französische Ausgabe geschickt mit der Bemerkung, Du seiest gefährlich krank. Er ist wütend. Er hat zu jemand gesagt, er wäre wie ein Narr 5 Tage in Paris herumgelaufen, ohne Dich zu sprechen, von Tag zu Tag hätte er Deinen Sekretär erwartet, und wie er ihn endlich gesprochen hätte, so hätte er ihm große Vorwürfe gemacht, daß er Dir unangenehme Briefe schriebe . . . Kurz, Du hast wie der größte Diplomat gehandelt und mich an seiner Wut amüsiert." Unpublished.

Campe Verlag faithfully fulfilled its obligation to Heine and, after his death, for twenty-seven years to his widow. Mathilde, however, on the pernicious advice of her legal councilor Henri Julia, failed to respect either the last wishes of her deceased husband or her obligations to her publisher, and she deprived the Campe Verlag of most of its legal rights.

From Campe's letters it can now be determined with considerable accuracy how many and how large editions he published, what author's fees he paid Heine, what each edition cost to produce, and what money he took in from the sale of these books. Campe even gives us the exchange value of the different types of money involved.¹³² The approximate figures would read as follows:

Title of Works	Fees Paid to Heine	Number of Editions Printed	Number of		Total Receipts Based on Wholesale Price
			Single Editions	Single Volumes	
Reisebilder I	75 L.....	5.....	29000.....		62833 M
II	120 L.....	5.....			
III	120 L.....	4.....			
IV	105 L.....	4.....			
Buch der Lieder	75 L.....	13.....	20000.....		37500 M
Kahldorf	12 L.....	1.....	2000.....		2084 M
Französische Zustände ...	80 L.....	1.....	3000.....		7500 M
Salon I	80 L.....	2.....	16000.....		34584 M
II	80 L.....	2.....			
III	1000 M.....	1.....			
IV	1000 M.....	1.....			
Romantische Schule	1000 M.....	1.....	3000.....		7500 M
Börne	1000 M.....	1.....	3000.....		7500 M
Neue Gedichte	1200 M }	4.....	9000.....		18125 M
Atta Troll		2.....	4000.....		5000 M
Wintermärchen	1000 M.....	1.....	3000.....		3750 M
Romanzero	6000 M.....	4.....	8500.....		21250 M
Dr. Faust	1000 M.....	1.....	2000.....		2084 M
Vermischte Schriften	6000 M.....	1.....	7500.....		18750 M
Gesamtausgabe	20000 F.....	0.....			
Pension: Heine	10800 M.....				
Mathilde	32400 M.....				
	747 L or 10458 M		110000 vols.		228460 M
	62400 M				
	20000 F or 10810 M	Approximate printing costs:			
TOTAL.....	83668 M		86500 M		228460 M
Campe's wholesale receipts for 110000 volumes.....					228460 M
Production costs for 110000 volumes.....			86500 M		
Paid to Heine and Mathilde.....			83668 M		

Total costs for fees and production.....170168 M

Campe's profits 58292 M

¹³² 1 L[ouis d'or] equal to 14 M[arks]; 2 T[haler] equal to 5 M; 1 M equal to 1.85 F[rancs].

This, however, takes the ideal viewpoint that Campe sold and received full payment for each volume published and that no copies were left over at the time of Heine's death. Naturally, this was not the case. It is safe to assume from Campe's letters that of each work one-third of the last edition was left over, which would represent an unrealized stock of 16,000 volumes. In addition, many copies of each work were given away to Heine and his friends and to periodicals for review purposes, many books were confiscated by the police in the various book stores and never paid for, many were destroyed during the Hamburg fire, and particularly in Austria many booksellers went bankrupt as a result of the economic depression in the fifties and never paid. These items, here figured most conservatively, must be deducted from Campe's profits:

16000 volumes left over at time of Heine's death.....	30000 M
1000 volumes presented to Heine, friends, and reviewers..	2000 M
3000 volumes destroyed during Hamburg fire & <i>Makulatur</i>	5000 M
3000 volumes lost through bankruptcy of book sellers	5000 M
5000 volumes lost through confiscation.....	10000 M
50000 volumes, shipment costs paid by Campe.....	10000 M
TOTAL.....	62000 M

This leaves 3708 marks in the red on Campe's account books.¹³³ If we consider, moreover, that no allowance at all has been made for Campe's efforts and overhead expenses, we can safely state that during Heine's lifetime the publisher derived no profits from Heine's works and that in all probability he worked at a considerable loss, and we can fully appreciate Campe's statement on May 2, 1843: "Ich wäre zu beklagen, wenn ich keinen gangbareren Artikel hätte." Only the poetical works and the *Reisebilder* enjoyed popularity during Heine's lifetime, the other prose works were received with indifference by his contemporaries and did not get beyond the first edition, although Campe had never printed more than 3000 copies of them at any time. Heine's real fame did not begin until a decade after his death when the Campe Verlag was able to print an edition of thirty thousand sets of the *Gesamtausgabe* and realized enormous profits.

These facts throw an entirely different light on the character of Heine and Campe and their business relations, and demonstrate what misleading results may be obtained, if we judge a situation by

¹³³ The *Tragödien*, *Über den Denunzianten*, and the miniature edition of the *Harzreise* were not included in the list of books published, as no reference can be found in Campe's letters giving information about them. During Heine's lifetime they lived through only one edition and probably would not have changed the figures and calculations in any way.

depending almost entirely on the testimony of one person without knowing the arguments of the other. Heine scholars have unanimously emphasized the great popularity of Heine during his lifetime, the poor fees he was paid for his works and *Gesamtausgabe*, the miserable sum he was granted for a pension, the abuses to which he had to submit, and the idealism and loyalty he maintained for his publisher. They have condemned the large editions Campe printed, the poor fees he paid and the great riches he acquired, the lack of appreciation he showed for the author's greatness, and the mean treatment he accorded the poet.

This study shows that rather the opposite is the case. Campe is exonerated as a well-meaning, sympathetic, appreciative, sacrificing, and liberal publisher, who paid Heine much higher fees than any of his contemporaries, who encouraged him in his work knowing his real worth and realizing that, although he meant a loss to him at the moment, he would ultimately become a classic. Heine is shown as a selfish and unscrupulous person in his attitude toward his publisher, willing to sell out to the highest bidder and even ready to disregard his contracts, overwhelmed with his own greatness, constantly possessed with the idea of being defrauded, not hesitating to employ foul means to extract money, interested only in his own financial welfare, and disregarding the interests and slandering the character of the man who stood by him throughout his life.

Campe satisfied almost every whim of Heine's, always paid him the fees asked for, and only revolted when Heine used unfair methods and questioned his integrity. Heine consistently disregarded the interests of his publisher, seldom fulfilled his obligations in time, and only had his monetary interests at heart. Campe's letters are calm, deliberate, conciliatory, and breathe the spirit of kindness and honesty; Heine's are impetuous, crude, insulting, and filled with a feeling of inferiority and guilt.

The tradition of a stingy, selfish publisher and an abused, idealistic poet is a myth; the facts reveal a kind, appreciative, sacrificing, and liberal publisher, and an inconsiderate, unscrupulous, extorting, and selfish poet.

Elmhurst, New York City



METASTASIO'S LYRICS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SPAIN AND THE OCTAVILLA ITALIANA

By JOSEPH G. FUCILLA

The first eighteenth century Spanish Italianate of talent was Ignacio de Luzán, author of a *Poética* (1737), the most important portions of which stem from Italian sources. This treatise started the movement to reform the prevalently bad literary taste of the time. The movement soon merged with French neo-classic tendencies, represented by Agustín Montiano, Blas Antonio Nasarre and Luis José Velázquez, and in time was completely superseded by these. While the stimulant was of Italian origin, the cure was typically French.¹ Contemporaneously, the works of Benito Jerónimo Feijóo show that he was well-read in Italian letters, but their bulk and effect are meagre, when compared with the French influences.²

Against isolated instances like these, we have in the last thirty years of the century abundant evidence of a wide-spread diffusion of Italian materials. Giambattista Conti introduced to the members of the famous *Tertulia de la Fonda de San Sebastián* an assortment of Italian writers among whom were Frugoni, Filicaia, Chiabrera, Petrarch, Ariosto and Torquato Tasso. Napoli Signorelli, too, assisted in making the *tertulianos* of the *Fonda* acquainted with his countrymen.³ Jovellanos' *Sobre la Educación de la Nobleza* is said to be an imitation of Parini's *Giorno*.⁴ Velázquez imitates Marino. Meléndez Valdés in an epistolary statement made to Jovellanos cites the *Aminta* and the *Pastor Fido* among the leading models he proposes to follow in his dramatic operetta, the *Bodas de Camacho*. Manuel María de Arjona imitates Filicaia and translates a part of Guarini's famous pastoral.⁵ *El Cordero Perdido*, a composition by the Conde de Noroña, is obviously inspired by Tito Strozzi's neo-

¹ See J. G. Robertson, *The Genesis of the Romantic Theory* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 234.

² Cf. V. Cian, *Italia e Spagna nel Secolo XVIII* (Torino, 1896), pp. 97-99 and G. Delpy, *L'Espagne et l'Esprit Européen. L'Œuvre de Feijóo* (Paris, 1936), Appendix III.

³ See L. F. de Moratín's remarks in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, II, pp. xiii and xiv. It appears that the Italians were more admired than emulated. Nevertheless, N.F. de Moratín did imitate a Petrarchan sonnet (see "A Decade of Notes on Spanish Poetry," in *Studies in Philology*, XXXII, 1935, p. 53).

⁴ Cf. A. Farinelli, *Italia e Spagna*, II (Torino, 1929, p. 315).

⁵ See V. Cian, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 107 and 102.

Latin poem, *De Lepore Fugitivo*.⁶ Juan Bautista de Arriaza furnishes us with a rendering of a charming sonnet by the Quattrocentist Panfilo Sasso.⁷ Alberto Lista shows an extensive acquaintance with Italian literature in his versions of Petrarch, Bondi, Zappi, Tasso, Bentivoglio and others.⁸ A score of Goldonian plays in Spanish dress were produced in Madrid between 1780 and 1796.⁹ Tasso's *Aminta* in Jauregui's version was reprinted in 1786, but the lack of reprints or editions of his *Jerusalem Delivered* or Dante's *Divine Comedy* or Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* indicates that the Spaniards probably preferred to read these masterpieces in the original. In addition, there is a fairly impressive array of translations from the Italian on a large variety of subjects.¹⁰ Yet this Italian revival was either too varied or too superficial in character to have any decisive influence. It does not initiate any new literary tendency, nor can it lay claim to a single author of distinction whose output is primarily based upon Italian inspiration.

As for Metastasio, whose vogue in Spain deserves to be discussed separately, it remains to be seen to what extent he was a vital or a supernumerary factor in Spanish literature. His melodramas aroused an immediate Spanish acclaim, due to the open-handed patronage of the music-loving Philip V and his consort Elisabeth Farnese, and the talent of the celebrated male soprano Carlo Broschi better known as Farinello, who was a self-appointed press-agent and *gemello adorabile* of Metastasio. Royal patronage was continued in the reign of Ferdinand VI who opened the theatre of El Buen Retiro with a performance of *La Clemenza di Tito* in the Spanish translation of Luzán. Charles II was too obsessed with the pleasures of the chase to take any active interest in the Italian opera, but he allowed the staging of melodramas to go on until 1777 when operatic performances were temporarily forbidden by regal edict. A large number of Metastasian melodramas were produced during the last decade of the eighteenth century.¹¹

While the multitudinous Spanish editions of his melodramas published over this span of a little more than fifty years (1734-1777,

⁶ Contained in *B.A.E.*, LXIII, p. 436 and *Carmina Illustrorum Poetarum Italorum*, IX (Firenze, 1722), pp. 118-19.

⁷ See "A Decade of Notes on Spanish Poetry," *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁸ To be found in *B.A.E.*, LXII, pp. 317-19, 330-32, 368 and 372.

⁹ Cf. A.M. Coe, *Catálogo Bibliográfico y Crítico de las Comedias Anunciadas en los Periódicos de Madrid desde 1661 hasta 1819* (Baltimore, 1935).

¹⁰ A good list may be found in A. Farinelli, *op. cit.*, 312-20. The influence of Alfieri really belongs to the Nineteenth century. See E. Allison Peers's article in *Hispanic Review*, I (1933) pp. 122-40.

¹¹ See E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Orígenes y Establecimiento de la Opera en España hasta 1800* (Madrid, 1917). This book also contains extensive materials on Farinello, pp. 101-91.

1787-1799), constitute, on one hand, a truly amazing testimonial of public interest,¹² on the other hand, it is pathetic to note that due to the unsettled condition of the Spanish theatre and the dearth of dramatic writers of ability all this mass of material was not sufficient to produce one imitation worthy of being remembered by posterity, not even one made by a Luzán, a José de Cañizares or a Ramón de la Cruz. Nor, ironically enough, did it help Metastasio any to be looked upon by the Spaniards as an epigone of the Golden Age dramatists, as a genuine disciple of Calderón.¹³

Even though he was to lose his right to an influential following in this respect, Metastasio was partially rewarded by the attraction exerted through his lyric poetry upon the flower of the poets of the Spanish eighteenth century. Several of the best lyrics of the period result directly from the inspiration furnished by his short compositions. In view of what has been said above it is but natural to assume that these poems were ushered into popularity by "riding on the coat-tails" of their more weighty literary brethren. But since they had their own intrinsic merits they imperiously demanded appreciation and consideration *per se*. The first drama of Metastasio, *Artaserse*, was performed in Valencia in 1734. The earliest reference found so far relating to his shorter pieces goes back to 1747 when the *canzonetta*: *La Libertà. A Nice*, scored a great musical success in Madrid. Three years later (1750) the same *canzonetta* is mentioned as the favorite song of the Spanish queen.¹⁴ Yet it was necessary for another generation to roll by before these minor poems were really able to assert themselves, an assertion which, strange to say, took effect with the decline of and ban on the Italian opera in the reign of Charles III, and was to continue to maintain itself to the end of the century and beyond.

In Jovellanos' *verso de romance* poem entitled *Anfriso a Belisa* (Part III) [*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XLVI, p. 13] may be seen what is probably the first evidence of the influence of Metastasio's lyric compositions in Spain. Its immediate source, the fa-

¹² I. L. McClelland, *The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain* (Liverpool, 1937), pp. 177-78 note, lists over fifty dated editions in the Biblioteca Nacional [Madrid]. See also Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*; the catalogs of the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale; A. M. Coe, *op. cit.*; *Library of Congress: Catalogue of Opera Librettos* (Washington, D. C., 1914); A. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del Librero Hispano Americano* (Barcelona, 1926), vol. V.

¹³ See I. L. McClelland, *op. cit.*, 178-81.

¹⁴ See V. Cian, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

mous *La Libertà*. A Nice, which has just been alluded to, can be detected in its introductory outburst of thankfulness. Compare

Ya gracias a los dioses,
Enarda, estoy contento . . .

with

Grazie a gl'inganni tuoi,
Al fin respiro, o Nice,
Al fin d'un infelice
Ebber gli Dei pietà . . .

Again, in the body of the poem ideas and phrases are expressed which echo portions of the *canzonetta*.

Ya sin amor, sin susto,
Sin ansias, ni deseos,
Lejos de tí o contigo
Tranquilo está y sereno.
Si al paso de los suyos
Salen tus ojos bellos,
Ni su color se muda,
Ni pierda su sosiego,
Ni el corazón le avisa
Del ya pasado incendio . . .

Lungi da te m'aggiro
Senza bramarti mai;
Son teco e non mi fai
Nè pena nè piacer . . .

Non cangio più colore
Quando il tuo nome ascolto;
Quando ti miro in volto,
Più non mi batte il cor . . .

So che non credi estinto
In me l'incendio antico . . .

Part IV of the same, beginning

Enarda, al fin los cielos
De mí se han apiadado . . .

also derives its initial stimulus from *La Libertà*, but continues to develop into an entirely original composition.

The genuine Arcadian temperament of Meléndez Valdés combining with his keen sensitiveness to musicality in verse made him and Metastasio kindred spirits, and naturally inclined the Spaniard to imitate the Italian's poems. Since in a letter to Jovellanos, Oct. 6, 1777 ("Poesías y cartas inéditas de Juan Meléndez Valdés" in *Revue Hispanique*, IV [1897], 310) he states that he is delighted with Metastasio's works, it is logical to assume that his translation of *La Libertà* was made at this time. This version, evidently done in haste, fails to reproduce the captivating lilt of the original despite

its use of the *octavilla italiana*. Compare the opening stanzas of each of the compositions:

Merced a tus traiciones,
Al fin respiro, Lice,
Al fin de un infelice
El cielo hubo piedad;
Ya rotas las prisiones,
Libre está el alma mía;
No sueño, no, este día,
Mi dulce libertad.

(*B.A.E.*, LXIII, 121)

Grazie agl'inganni tuoi,
Alfin respiro, o Nice;
Alfin d'un infelice
Ebber gli dei pietà:
Sento da' lacci suoi,
Sento che l'ama è sciolta;
Non sogno questa volta,
Non sogno libertà.

Nevertheless the Spanish poem proved sufficiently attractive to the *costumbrista*, Estébanez Calderón, to be used many years later, as the model for his palinode: *A la Perfecta Indiferencia*. Compare

Perdón de mis traiciones,
Perdón, amada Lice,
Error de un infelice
Es digno de piedad.
Ser libre de prisiones
Proclamó el alma mía,
Mas fué el postrer día
Que cantó libertad . . .

(*Poesías*, Madrid 1889, 191-95)

Meléndez Valdés again tried his hand at imitation, this time using another well-known *canzonetta*, *La Partenza*, as the model for his *La Despedida* (*B.A.E.*, LXIII, 125) as can easily be seen from a comparison of the first stanza of each of the poems.

Adios, mi dulce vida,
Filis, adios; que el hado
Mi fin ha decretado,
Y es fuerza ya partir.
Adios . . . ¡Oh despedida!
¡Oh crudo amargo instante!
Adios . . . mi pecho amante
¿Podrá sin tí vivir?

Ecco quel fiero instante;
Nice, mia Nice, addio:
Come vivrò, ben mio,
Così lontan da te?
Io vivrò sempre in pene,
Io non avrò più bene;
E tu chi sa se mai
Ti sovverrai di me!

Here all thought of literal translation has vanished. The author allows himself to be guided only by the main theme, and produces a masterpiece of harmony that comes close to matching the delicate beauty of its source. Metastasio builds up his *canzonetta* around the forlorn and melancholy refrain: *ti sovverrai di me*. He implies that his forthcoming travail would not irk him half so much if he could only be sure that his Nice will think of him or in some way reciprocate his love. Meléndez discards the refrain because he is

not concerned with the indifference of his Filis, but rather with the terrible anguish which separation is bound to bring to him. It is interesting to see how the Spaniard imitates the stylistic trick of the interrupted sentence used by Metastasio in his final stanza not only in his first but also in his last octave. Compare

Me parto . . . que mi pecho
Jamás te olvidará.

Pensa . . . ah, chi sa se mai
Ti sovverrai di me!

But this is not all. For the simile of the captive bird in his sixth stanza, Meléndez appears to draw upon an octave of another Metastasian poem: the *Palinodia a Nice*. Compare

Cual colorín cautivo,
Luchando noche y día,
La jaula abrir porfía,
Y el hierro quebrantar;
Así ¡dolor esquivo!
Dará mi pensamiento
De tormento en tormento,
Sin un punto parar . . .

Nel visco, in cui s'avenne
Quell 'augellin talora,
Scuote le penne ancora
Cercando libertà;
Ma in agitar le penne
Gl'impacci suoi rinnova;
Più di fuggir fa prova,
Più prigionier si fa . . .

Another poem, *El Despecho* (B.A.E., LXIII, 123) without having a specific model is in the purest Metastasian manner both in spirit and in meter.

Sal, ¡ay! del pecho mío,
Sal luego, amor tirano,
Y apaga el fuego insano
Que abrasa el corazón,
Bastante el albedrío
Lloró sus crudas penas,
Esclavo en las cadenas
Que hoy rompe la razón . . .

A different type of composition, one of the most famous of the *ariettas* of the Italian court poet must have made a deep impression on Meléndez:

Dovunque il guardo giro,
Immenso Dio ti vedo;
Nell 'opre tue ti ammiro,
Ti riconosco in me.
La terra, il mar, le sfere
Parlan del tuo potere:
Tu sei per tutto, e noi
Tutti viviamo in te.¹⁵

¹⁵ Included in the *Passione di Cristo* (*Opere Drammatiche del Sign. Abate Pietro Metastasio romano* [Napoli, 1760]), vol. III, p. 141.

The octave condenses the theme of the omnipresence of God into the smallest possible verbal limits, but there is in it a seemingly immense power of suggestiveness that enchants the reader who approaches it for the first time. Anyone meditating upon it would inevitably be led to particularization in his attempt to identify the Lord with his Creation. Indeed, it is just what Meléndez has done in his *Presencia de Dios* (B.A.E., LXIII, 218-19) especially under the stimulus of the two initial lines which he translates in part and in part adapts.

Doquiera que los ojos
Inquieto torno en cuidadoso anhelo,
Allí, gran Dios, presente¹⁶
Atónito mi espíritu te siente . . .

The Italian aria has been criticized because in spite of its facility of expression it fails to convey the feeling that Metastasio really wanted to express.¹⁷ Meléndez with his penchant for visualization may likewise have sensed this shortcoming and may have sought to overcome it by a concrete treatment of the theme. However that may be, a comparison between the two poems does offer a sort of aesthetic test, which proves that Metastasio's octave with all the suggestiveness that is inherent in it is superior to the Spanish poem with its catalog of commonplace details.¹⁸

Finally, Meléndez' defiant attitude towards fate in his ode *A la Fortuna* (B.A.E., LXIII, 186) appears to be a curious combination of the author's own feelings and borrowing from Petrarch's sonnet *Pommi fortuna* . . . and Metastasio's sonnet *Alla Fortuna*.

Iriarte's *Poema de la Música* (1779) had won praises from Metastasio.¹⁹ With pride the Spaniard publicly alludes to this favorable reception in an *Epístola* addressed to the distinguished Italian and again in an *Epístola* addressed to Señor de Bosarte. Elsewhere, in the prose fable *El Canario y el Grajo*²⁰ he is probably referring to the *poeta cesareo* in speaking about *un ruiseñor*

¹⁶ Also compare the phrase *Dios inmenso* in the ninth stanza of this composition with *immenso Dio* in Metastasio's octave, above.

¹⁷ By A. Momigliano in *Antologia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. II, 3^a ed. riv. (Messina, 1932), p. 579 note.

¹⁸ Meléndez' poem was translated into Italian by A. Paravia and printed in *Il Vaglio* (1838), p. 397. See also *Deh Pensa a Me, Strenna Fiumana pel Capo d'Anno e pei Giorni Onomastici. Anno I* (1844).

¹⁹ See Metastasio's letter dated April 25, 1780, and Iriarte's reply in E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Iriarte y su Epoca* (Madrid, 1897), pp. 206-07. See also "La Notice de Carlos Pignatelli sur Thomas de Iriarte" in *Revue Hispanique*, XXXVI (1916), pp. 229-30.

²⁰ For the *Epístolas* see B.A.E. LXIII, pp. 34 and 56 and for the fable B.A.E., LXIII, p. 22.

estranjero generalmente acreditado. His appreciation is further brought out by a *Letra para un Duo Italiano, imitada de Metastasio* in which the *octavilla italiana* is used, and which was very likely composed at this time.²¹

Meléndez' friend, the fiery Cienfuegos, adopts the *octavilla italiana* as the meter of his touching *Despedida* (B.A.E., LXVII, p. 9):

Venid, venid, piadosos
Y consolad mi pena,
Los que el amor condena
A mi cruel dolor.
¡Oh vos que habeis probado
La ausencia un solo instante!
Yo parto y soy amante,
¿Me olvidará mi amor?

Cienfuegos, to be sure, is not addressing his complaints to his beloved as in Metastasio's *Partenza* but to forlorn lovers in general. Yet the theme and the fact that the refrain *¿Me olvidará mi amor?* which echoes the *Ti sovverrai di me!* of the *canzonetta*, give unmistakable evidence as to the model that Cienfuegos was following.

From the poets of the Salamancan School the imitation of Metastasio's lyrics passed on to those of the Sevillan School.

Though Arriaza injects a warlike touch into his beautiful poem: *La Despedida de Silvia* (B.A.E., LXVII, 136) by relating his separation to the salvos of a cannon, his indebtedness to *La Libertà*. *A Nice* is betrayed by the opening verses of the composition.

Ya llegó el instante fiero,
Silvia, de mi despedida,
Pues ya anuncia mi partida
Con estrépito el cañón;
A darte el adios postrero
Llega ya tu tierno amante,
Lleno de llanto el semblante,
Y de angustia el corazón.

²¹ On the probable date when this was written I agree with Cian, *op. cit.*, p. 121. The statement made by A. Coester, "Influences of the Lyric Drama of Metastasio on the Spanish Romantic Movement," *Hispanic Rev.*, VI (1938), p. 14, to the effect that this *Letra* was first published in Cotarelo's book; on Iriarte is puzzling. It appears previous to 1897 in the B.A.E., LXIII, p. 65. Iriarte used the *octavilla* in another *Letra para un Duo Italiano*, which may be found in "Poésies Inédites de D. Tomás de Iriarte" in *Revue Hispanique*, II (1895), p. 75.

Direct contact with the model is again resumed in stanza nineteen which is an expansion of the last four lines of the third octave of the *canzonetta*:

Al salir el sol brillante,
Al poner sus luces bellas,
Al nacer luna y estrellas,
Estaré pensando en tí.
No me apartaré un instante
De esta idea encantadora;
Y tú entre tanto traidora,
Ni aún te acordarás de mí.

Da l'una a l'altra aurora
Te andrò chiamando ognora;
E tu chi sa se mai
Ti sovverrai di me!

and in stanza twenty, which develops ideas contained in the second and third stanzas of the Italian poem:

A solas mi pensamiento,
Engolfado en esos mares
Repasará los lugares
Donde contigo me vi.

In fra remote sponde
Mesto volgendo i passi,
Andrò chiedendo ai sassi
La ninfa mia dov'è?

Soffri che in traccia almeno
Di mia perduta pace
Venga il pensier seguace
Su l'orme del tuo piè.

and likewise in the refrains of stanzas nineteen and twenty: *Ni aún te acordarás de mí*, and stanzas twenty-one and twenty-two: *Si te acordarás de mí* which more or less reproduce the burden of the famous Italian song.

Arjona's *Desengaño. A Dorila* (B.A.E., LXIII, pp. 527-28) like the other Spanish poems already discussed, recalls opening verses in poems by Metastasio, in this case, the *Palinodia a Nice*. Compare

¡Cuán en vano evitar quieren
Los mortales su destino!
No torcerán, no, el camino
Que el hado les señaló.
De tu amor, Dorila, libre
Juzgué verme a duras penas,
Y ya adoro las cadenas
Que mi altivez desdenó.

Placa gli sdegni tuoi;
Perdono, amata Nice:
L'error d'un infelice
E degno di pietà.
E ver, da' lacci suoi
Vantai che l'anima è sciolta:
Ma fu l'estrema volta,
Ch'io vantai libertà.

But Metastasian imitation does not stop here. Arjona, who was apparently well read in the works of the Italian court poet, had noticed that the general idea of one of the octaves of the palinode beginning: *Biasma nel rio cemento* . . . was repeated in an *arietta* in the *Orti Esperidi*, I (*op. cit.*, p. 336, vol. III) and accordingly he adroitly substituted the latter for the former stanza. Compare

De la montaña descende	Qual rio del mar si parte
El río precipitado;	Dalle nascoste vene,
Parase un poco en el prado,	Va per ignote arene
Y empieza a serpentear.	Ma poi ritorna al mar.
Mas ¿qué vale que rebelde	Così mi parto anch'io
Dé un paso y otro torcido,	Ma pur dell'amor mio
Si para el mar es nacido,	Ritornero fra poco
Y ha de morir en el mar?	Il foco
	A vagheggiar.

Alberto Lista modifies the titles of his poems: *La Primavera*, *El Primer Amor* and *El Convite del Pescador* with the words, *Traducción de Metastasio*.²² In addition, Ramiro Ortiz in his article "Radici e Propaggini Francesi, Rumene e Spagnuole della *Libertà* di Pietro Metastasio," in *Mélanges d'Histoire Littéraire Générale et Comparée offerts à Fernand Baldensperger*, Tome II (Paris, 1930), pp. 150-62, has noted two more imitations, *El Desengaño* (*B.A.E.*, LXII, p. 367) and *La Libertad* (*B.A.E.*, LXVII, p. 359). In both poems not only is the general tone Metastasian, but there are also some phrasal similarities that link them with *La Libertà*.

From the foregoing discussion it is now clear that the Metastasian spirit as expressed in his short lyrics was not only very much alive in Spanish eighteenth century poetry, but also, in sharp contrast to what was taking place in the poetry of other countries, where it found a voice almost exclusively among second rate writers, it was enthusiastically received by Spain's leading poets—Jovellanos, Meléndez Valdés, Iriarte, Cienfuegos, Arriaza, Arjona, Lista. That Metastasio's lyrics were perfect companion-pieces in form, content and psychology of the pastorals of the anacreontic type which appeared in overwhelming quantities at the time, is obvious to all those who have even so much as the merest bowing acquaintance with the poetic trends of the epoch. But, unfortunately, their limited number kept the spirit from expanding and coloring with itself any large sector of the literary field. Hence, though strikingly noticeable, its importance is relative rather than absolute. The great Metastasio

²² See *B.A.E.*, LXVII, pp. 345, 358, 320.

shares the common fate of the rest of his compatriots in eighteenth century Spain.

However, it was in the field of metrics that the influence of the Italian poet left its most profound and lasting imprint. This has been amply shown in Professor Coester's article "Influences of the Lyric Drama of Metastasio on the Spanish Romantic Movement," *Hispanic Review*, VI (1938), pp. 10-20. On the question of the popularity of the *octavilla italiana* among the pre-romantics of the Salamanican and Sevillian schools and among the Romantic poets of Spain and Spanish America, no one will dispute the importance of the data he has presented. But what he has to say on the medium through which the *octavilla italiana* was introduced into the peninsula, namely the *ariettas* of Metastasio's melodramas, does leave the door open to some disagreement. It has already been proved that the models of the Spanish poets were primarily Metastasio's *canzonette* which must have been just as easily accessible as his melodramas on the other side of the Mediterranean. Moreover, practically all the Spanish instances of the use of the *octavilla* that I know of show that they are linked in a stanzaic series like the *canzonette*. On the other hand, it is well known that the *ariettas* appear only in one-stanza units in the melodramas in accordance with operatic convention,²³ a procedure which was not followed by the Spanish lyric poets. The *canzonette*, then, are obviously the real source of the new meter, while as to the *ariettas*, it may be admitted that at most they only served to buttress the vogue which the *octavilla italiana* had gained through such lyrics as *La Libertà* and *La Partenza*.

With respect to the Spanish cantatas and other verse forms based on an analogous pattern, I agree with Professor Coester that they may very well ultimately go back to the influence of Metastasio, but it should be stressed that here, too, the model was not furnished by the melodramas as implied in his article, but by the *cantate* themselves which were usually published in the volumes containing the dramatic works.²⁴ With a maximum of forty-eight cantatas²⁵ by Metastasio to guide them in the matter of metrical form, it is inconceivable that the Spaniards should re-create this type of composition from elements contained in the longer theatrical pieces, at the same time closing both their eyes to examples that were so near at hand. The literary popularity of the cantata-type of verse

²³ See C. Gray, *The History of Music* (London, 1928), p. 164.

²⁴ See, for example, Metastasio's *Opere Drammatiche*, 8 ed. (Venezia, G. Bettinelli, 1747), vol. V.

²⁵ See *Bibliographie Universelle*, vol. XXVIII, p. 115.

seems to have taken place after the Spanish acclimatization of the *octavilla italiana* through the medium of the *canzonette* and their imitations.

It may be observed in conclusion that Professor Coester fails to give prominence to the name of Meléndez Valdés, *el maestro de todos, el más egregio promovedor del nuevo florecimiento poético*.²⁶ This is unfortunate since this writer, by virtue of his poetic pre-eminence, is without question not only the real initiator of the vogue of the lyric poems of Metastasio in Spain, but also the first poet to establish firmly the tradition of the *octavilla italiana* in his native land.

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²⁶ Cf. Juan Valera, *Florilegio de Poesías Castellanas del Siglo XIX*. Tomo I (Madrid, 1902), p. 11.

THE EDITIONS OF FRÉRON'S *LETTRES SUR
QUELQUES ÉCRITS DE CE TEMPS*

By CLIFFORD H. PRATOR and FRANCIS W. GRAVIT

The opinions of Elie-Catherine Fréron, which are at the same time those of the leading journalist of his age and of one of the most authoritative opponents of the "philosophes" and encyclopedists, cannot be a matter of indifference. Unfortunately, wide textual variations in the *Lettres sur quelques écrits de ce temps* sometimes make it difficult to determine what was the critic's last word on a given subject. It is generally realized that more than one edition exists of at least some of the thirteen volumes of this publication. Nowhere, however, can one find out exactly which volumes were reprinted, or how extensive were the changes made. Several libraries, which believe firmly that they possess all of the work, really have important lacunae in their collections. This may be true even when, according to the title pages of the volumes, the library owns all known editions. Often volumes bearing the same title page have different contents; at times the opposite may be true, volumes may vary as to title page but be identical otherwise.

The two French scholars who might have been expected to attempt to solve the problem, François Cornou, outstanding biographer of Fréron,¹ and Eugène Hatin, historian of the periodical press,² have passed it over in silence. The Abbé A. Tougard, in an article entitled "Eclaircissements bibliographiques pour les *Lettres sur quelques écrits de ce temps*,"³ made a detailed comparison of two complete sets of the *Lettres*, but did not reach any conclusions.

Our observations concerning Volume I of the *Lettres* are based upon M. Tougard's description of the two copies of unknown origin which he compared, upon two copies found in the Library of the University of Michigan, and upon those possessed by the University of Minnesota, the British Museum, and the Bibliothèque Nationale. Since five of these seven vary, one might be tempted to believe in the existence of five different editions. It is quite unlikely, however, that there should have been five separate printings of a periodical; moreover, only two different title pages are to be found: "Genève, 1749," and "Nouvelle édition, Londres, 1752." Only two different tables of contents exist also, one on pages numbered i-iv, which we shall refer to as Table X, and one on unnumbered pages, Table Y.

¹ *Elie Fréron*, Paris: Champion, 1922.

² *Histoire politique et littéraire de la presse en France*, Paris: Poulet-Malassis et De Broise, 1859.

³ *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire*, 1907, pp. 165-73.

A consideration of the way in which the *Lettres* appeared supplies the key to the riddle of the five differing copies of Volume I. They were published at short intervals, usually of around two weeks, in the form of a *cahier* of 72 pages. Each bound volume contains five *cahiers*. When the first 72 pages of all the copies of Volume I were compared, it became evident that there were only two different printings of this particular *cahier*. One of them corresponded exactly to Table X, the other to Table Y; we shall call them respectively Versions X and Y. We found that for each succeeding *cahier*, except the second (pp. 73-144), there were likewise only two versions, one agreeing with Table X, one with Table Y. There appeared to be three versions of the second *cahier*, one corresponding to each of the tables, and a third unlike any table which we have seen.

A composition of the seven copies of Volume I may be represented by this diagram:

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	<i>Bib. Nat.</i> <i>Geneva,</i> 1749	<i>Tougard,</i> <i>Geneva,</i> 1749	<i>Tougard,</i> <i>Geneva,</i> 1749	<i>Mich.,</i> <i>Geneva,</i> 1749	<i>Mich.,</i> <i>London,</i> 1752	<i>Minn.</i> <i>London,</i> 1752	<i>Brit. Mus.</i> <i>London,</i> 1752
Cahier I ...	X	X	X	X	Y	Y	Y
Cahier II ...	X	X	Z	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cahier III ...	X	X	Y	Y	Y	X	Y
Cahier IV ...	X	X	X	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cahier V ...	X	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Table	Table	Tables	Table	Table	Table	Table
	X	X	X & Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

(A copy of Table X for Volume I is to be found in Volume II of the edition in the library of the University of Michigan.)

The conclusion would appear to be that there were only two different editions of each of the *cahiers* of Volume I, except the second. The latter seems, for some reason, to have been printed at least three times. It is, of course, possible that an examination of additional copies of the first volume of the *Lettres* might reveal the existence of Z versions for other *cahiers*. The Bibliothèque Nationale copy A, and M. Tougard's copy B⁴ contain the X text throughout, and Michigan E and British Museum G follow the Y version consistently. Copies C, D, and F do not represent three additional printings; they contain within their covers *cahiers* of printings X, Y, and Z, arranged in various combinations. This state of affairs is perfectly understandable. The circulation of the *Lettres*

⁴ In order to give a clearer analysis of the seven copies of Volume I, we have named B and C the copies which M. Tougard refers to respectively as A and B.

tended to increase rapidly.⁵ We may suppose that certain *cahiers*, especially interesting, were quickly sold out, while remnants of others remained unsold on the publisher's shelves. New subscribers were urged to buy back numbers.⁶ It was found necessary to reprint some *cahiers* in order to be able to fill these orders. Perhaps they were all reprinted at once. The publisher got rid of his old stock by combining *cahiers* of the first edition with those of the second to make up complete volumes. Probably individual subscribers, wishing to have a volume of the *Lettres* bound, and finding a *cahier* or two missing, filled in the blanks by buying *cahiers* from the new edition.

The title page of each volume of the *Lettres* forms page 1 of the first *cahier*, in other words, is an integral part of it. This fact supplies the necessary link between tables and title pages. Since Table X outlines faithfully the contents of the *Cahier* I which is attached to the 1749 title page, it may be asserted that this table was made for the 1749 edition, and consequently that all *cahiers* which agree with Table X are a part of the 1749, or first edition. In the same way Table Y may be considered a reliable guide to the 1752 edition.

The most obvious differences between the editions of Volume I of the *Lettres* are pointed out in the following table:

First Edition (Version X)	Second Edition (Version Y)	(Version Z)
LETTRES / SUR / QUELQUES / ÉCRITS / DE CE TEMS. / <i>Parcere personis, dicere de vitiis.</i> Martial. TOME PREMIER / A GENEVE. / M. D.C.C. XLIX.	LETTRES / SUR / QUELQUES / ÉCRITS / DE CE TEMS. / Par M. Féron. / <i>Parcere personis, dicere de vitiis.</i> Martial. / NOUVELLE EDITION. / TOME PREMIER. / [vignette de Pan] / A LONDRES. / <i>Et se trouvent à Paris,</i> / Chez DUCHESNE, Libraire, rue saint / Jacques, au-dessous de la Fontaine Saint / Benoît, au Temple du Goût. / M.D. CC. LII.	

⁵ Hatin, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-3.

⁶ Avertissement du libraire, Vol. VII of *Lettres*.

(Cahier I, pp. 1-72 of
copies A, B, C, and D)

(copies E, F, G)

pp. 29: *Envoi to an Epître à Madame de M^{***}* [Mouchy].

p. 29: *Madrigal, adressé à une jolie femme* [la princesse de Montauban].

pp. 58-66: *Oraisons funèbres de Maboul*.

pp. 58-63: same. Entire tone of review changed.

pp. 67-69: *Odes sur la paix*.

pp. 63-70: *Histoire de France et histoire romaine, par demandes et réponses*.

pp. 69-72: *Histoire de France et histoire romaine, par demandes et réponses*.

pp. 70-72: *Odes sur la paix*.

(Cahier II, pp. 73-144
of copies A and B)

(copies D, E, F, G)

(copy C)

pp. 73-104: *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*, de Mme de Grafigny.

pp. 73-103: same.

pp. 73-105: *Cléopâtre*, tragédie de Marmontel.

pp. 104-115: *Lettre de M. Marmontel à l'auteur de ces feuilles*.

pp. 103-114: same.

pp. 105-111: *Momus le philosophe*, pièce de C.-F.-F. Boulenger de Rivery.

pp. 111-112: *Le Réveil de Thalie*, pièce anonyme.

pp. 112-114: *le Tribunal de l'amour*, pièce anonyme.

pp. 114-115: *Réflexions d'une comédienne française*.

pp. 115-127: *Réponse à la lettre précédente*.

pp. 114-125: same.

pp. 115-131: *Supplément du Dictionnaire de Moréri*.

pp. 127-134: *Voyage de Saint-Cloud par mer et par terre*, par L.-B. N. Néel.

pp. 125-133: same.

pp. 131-139: *La Double extravagance*, comédie de Bret.

pp. 134-135: <i>Découverte de la pierre philosophale</i> , par l'abbé G.-F. Coyer.	pp. 133-135: same.	
pp. 135-137: <i>L'Année merveilleuse</i> , par le même.	pp. 135-137: same.	
pp. 137-138: <i>La Magie démontrée</i> , par le même.	pp. 137-138: same.	
pp. 138-140: <i>Plaisirs pour le peuple</i> , par le même.	pp. 138-140: same.	pp. 139-140: <i>L'Ecole amoureuse</i> , comédie de Bret.
pp. 140-144: <i>Le Médecin par occasion</i> , comédie de Boissy.	pp. 140-144: same.	pp. 140-144: <i>Le Calendrier des théâtres</i> .

(Cahier III, pp. 145-216 of copies A, B, F) (copies C, D, E, G)

pp. 186-189: poem by Fréron, to an aspirant dramatist.	omitted.
pp. 198-200: <i>Épître de M. le Président de Claris à M. le Franc, sur la comédie du Médecin par occasion</i> .	pp. 196-198: same.

(differences in pagination continue)

pp. 202-203: <i>Les Amusements du cœur et de l'esprit</i> , par Philippe.	omitted.
pp. 211-215: <i>Le Pot de chambre cassé</i> .	pp. 290-216: <i>Problème historique sur la Pucelle d'Orléans</i> , par Daniel Polluche.
pp. 215-216: <i>Les Amasones</i> , tragédie de Mme Dubocage.	

(Cahier IV, pp. 217-288 of copies A, B, and C)	(copies D, E, F, G)
pp. 225-232: <i>Epithalame</i> , par Roy.	omitted.
pp. 232-236: <i>Épître à un traître</i> , traduit de l'anglais.	pp. 225-229: same.
(differences in pagination continue)	
omitted.	pp. 284-288: <i>Les Faveurs du sommeil</i> , roman de Turben.

(Cahier V, pp. 289-360 of copies A, B)	(copies C, D, E, F, G)
pp. 330-334: <i>Traité des maladies vénériennes</i> , par Jourdan de Pellérin.	pp. 331-335: same.
(differences in pagination continue)	
pp. 337-339: <i>Fragment d'une épître au Roi</i> , par le Comte.	omitted.
pp. 357-360: <i>Arithmétique</i> , par Camus; <i>Essais sur divers sujets de littérature</i> , par Trublet; <i>L'Esprit des Loix</i> ; <i>Voyage de la Baie de Hudson</i> .	pp. 357-366: <i>Nouvelle édition de la Connaissance des beautés et des défauts de la poésie</i> , avec des remarques critiques contre M. de Voltaire.
(has eight fewer pages than Version Y)	pp. 366-368; <i>Momus philosophe</i> , par Boulenger de Rivery.

There are many less noticeable differences throughout each *cahier*, so many in fact as to make the second edition amount to a complete rewriting of the first.

The Z Version of *Cahier II*, which corresponds to neither table, presents a problem which we are far from having solved to our own satisfaction. The works reviewed in that version were published or first performed between 1747 and 1750. It would seem then to have been written in 1750. Why was the 1749 edition of *Cahier II* reprinted in 1752, instead of the 1750 edition? Was the latter version, which is devoted almost completely to the drama,

suppressed for some reason? It appears to be rare, as only M. Tougard reports having seen a copy of it.

Variations in subsequent volumes are of minor importance, and chiefly typographical, but shed some light on the general process of publication of the series. Some copies of Volume II bear a title page dated "Genève, 1749"; others have the legend "A Londres / Et se trouvent à Paris, / chez Duchesne, libraire . . . / 1752." For this volume our observations were made on copies possessed by the University of Michigan (London, 1752), by the University of Minnesota (London, 1752), the Bibliothèque Nationale (Geneva, 1749), and on the somewhat deficient descriptions furnished by M. Tougard, who gives no information about the portions of his two texts (Geneva, 1749, and London, 1752) which agree.

All five *cahiers* of this second volume have been reprinted. The 1749 edition of *cahier* I may be distinguished by its italic signatures for each folio of twenty-four pages, and by the error "détails puériles" on page 72; the later printing contains roman signatures, and the correction "détails puérils."⁷ The existence of two printings of *Cahier* II is attested by differences in the positions of the galley guide, "Tome II," and of the commas after "solides" on page 73. In *Cahier* III "demande" has been corrected to "demandent" (p. 197), and "difficle" to "difficile" (p. 201). In the reprinting of *Cahier* IV the "Cr" of "Crébillon" has slipped down a line and replaced the "en" of "en déclarant" (p. 228).

Cahier V shows a much larger difference, since the material of pages 340-341 of the Bibliothèque Nationale 1749 copy occurs on pages 337-339 of both the Michigan and Minnesota volumes. Since the article, a discussion of Marmontel's *Aristomène*, begins and ends on the same pages in both editions, as is shown by the two sets of tables, this probably indicates a condensation of the first part of the text and a corresponding lengthening of the last part for the 1752 reprinting, in other words, a rewriting of the review. This difference appeared, however, only after our partially complete photostats of the Bibliothèque Nationale copy arrived, and further conclusions are impossible until such time as conditions permit further photostats to become available.

If we call the early text X and the revised text Y, we get the following picture of the five copies of Volume II for which we have information:

⁷ It is our opinion that M. Tougard has somehow confused his two volumes with respect to the error *puériles*, when he assigns it to a copy with a London 1752 title page and roman signature, since the Bibliothèque Nationale copy dated 1749 contains the error, and both the Michigan and Minnesota copies with 1752 title pages contain the correction.

	Bibliothèque Nationale Geneva, 1749	Tougard Geneva, 1749	Tougard London, 1752	Michigan London, 1752	Minnesota London, 1752
Cahier I	X	X	Y	Y	Y
Cahier II	X			Y	Y
Cahier III	X	X	X	Y	X
Cahier IV	X			Y	Y
Cahier V	X			Y	Y

We see consequently that the Minnesota and Tougard 1752 copies represent the same sort of mixed text already observed in Volume I.

M. Tougard finds the contents and typography of his third volume to be exactly similar. The three copies at our disposal, Bibliothèque Nationale (Geneva and Amsterdam, 1750); Michigan (London, 1752); Minnesota (London, 1752), agree in all but typography. The first *cahier* of the Michigan copy has been completely reprinted.⁸ In the same portion of the Minnesota copy we find for the first time a combination of two printings within a single *cahier*, pages 1-4 being identical with Michigan, and the rest of the *cahier* like Bibliothèque Nationale. *Cahier* II in Michigan is also a reprint, whereas in Minnesota it is again a mixture, with pp. 73-120 coming from the original edition and the last *feuille d'imprimerie*, pp. 121-144, from the reprint.⁹ *Cahiers* III, IV and V are identical in every respect for all three copies. We may assume then that, starting from *Cahier* III, Volume III, the publisher was careful to make a first edition ample enough to satisfy any demand. This assumption is borne out by the fact that both Tougard and ourselves found no variations in Volumes IV through XIII.

The title pages of the first five volumes may be arranged as follows:

Vol. I	Genève, 1749 No publisher given.	Londres-Paris, 1752 Duchesne
Vol. II	Genève, 1749 No publisher given.	Londres-Paris, 1752 Duchesne
Vol. III	Genève-Amsterdam, 1750 Pierre Mortier.	Londres-Paris, 1752 Duchesne
Vol. IV	Genève-Paris, 1751 Veuve Cailleau	
Vol. V	Londres-Paris, 1751 Duchesne	

⁸ E.g., Michigan, p. 5, "... d'admirer pour un / tems, ces brochures insipides qui font / ..."; B.N., "... d'admirer pour un tems, / ces brochures insipides qui font l'oc- / ..."

⁹ Michigan, p. 73, "Histoire / naturel- / le Tome / II."; Minnesota and B.N., "Histoire / naturel- / le. Tome / II.," with a period after *naturelle*. Michigan and Minnesota, p. 121, "... des expé- / riences singulieres ..."; B.N., "... des ex- / périences singulieres ..."

It has always been held by scholars such as Cornou¹⁰ and Hatin¹¹ that the periodical was published by Duchesne in Paris, and that the other place names, such as Geneva, London and Nancy, were but blinds to satisfy the police, from whom Fréron had obtained, not a *privilège*, but a mere *tolérance verbale* for the publication of his review. This latter fact may well be true, but it seems almost certain that Duchesne had little or nothing to do with the first four volumes of the first edition. The supposition that the names Mortier and Cailleau were invented by Duchesne to cover his tracks is untenable, since the existence of the Veuve Cailleau is well attested,¹² and consequently it is most likely that Pierre Mortier was also a real person. What apparently happened is that, in its early stages, the periodical passed rapidly between at least two, and perhaps more, publishers, until Duchesne bought the rights and assumed control with Volume V, late in 1751 or early in 1752. It was he who did such reprinting as we have discovered.

Volumes III through XIII, and all of Volume II except the last *cahier*, represent definitive texts, and may be cited without hesitation, regardless of what title page they bear, but effective consultation of Volumes I and II demands preliminary analysis of their contents in accordance with the data of the present study. The tables included are based on the copies most likely to be consulted by scholars, and consequently should facilitate locating any desired version of the text.

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¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 46-48 and 68-69.

¹¹ *Bibliographie de la presse*, Paris, 1866, p. 45. Hatin implies rather than states this belief. Quérard, *La France littéraire*, III, 211, gives Duchesne as the publisher and the dates as 1752-1754, which can only refer to the second edition of Vols. I-III.

¹² Edmond Werdet, *Histoire du livre en France depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'en 1789*. Paris, 1864, III, 317.

A PROPOSAL FOR OLD FRENCH LEXICOGRAPHY*

By RAPHAEL LEVY

The purpose of this report is to suggest an objective for French lexicography both desirable and feasible and to provide a clearing-house for linguistic recovery. Various plans have previously been formulated to systematize research in French philology, but all of those plans turned out to be mere brain-children.

In 1875, when the Société des anciens textes français was organized, Siméon Luce proposed that the Society should draw up "une liste de textes qu'il serait le plus intéressant de publier afin de susciter des éditeurs pour ces publications." On the occasion of celebrating its fiftieth anniversary, Jean Porcher reminded its members that that proposal had never been carried out. In 1933 the Committee of Seven in its report to organize research in the Modern Language Association announced that "The French Linguistic Group has taken steps to collect material for a French dictionary comparable in scope to the Oxford Dictionary. A committee has been appointed, a bibliography of the authors who are first to be studied is being prepared, arrangements have been made to store the slips in the Library of Congress, the methods followed in similar projects have been considered, and the collection of the material, which will require many years to be completed, has already begun."

Now the quotations in the New English Dictionary are drawn from so many sources that their titles alone occupy 270 columns in fine type; the printing of it began in 1888, Sir James Murray died in 1915, and the last volume is dated 1933. If experience may serve as a criterion, it will take decades to complete a vast Thesaurus of the French language. The forty Immortals devoted fifty-eight years to the 8th edition of their dictionary, a work respected by everybody but consulted by nobody. At this moment certain colleagues still wish to draw up a blue-print for a *magnum opus* of the French language. They present a simple platform with a single plank for a kind of Pan-Lexicon of French, fully as comprehensive as the New English Dictionary. They deserve our support if they start the task, and they will deserve our blessing if they carry out their promise. It is true that six sections of the Modern Language Association are engaged in promoting ambitious dictionary projects, but, at least for French, any program will result in futility unless desirability is tempered with practicability.

* This report was presented in an abridged form at the New Orleans meeting of the Modern Language Association.

In surveys of this field, an encomium is heard seldom, a jeremiad is uttered often. Some votaries of modern philology contend that the word-list in the *Dictionnaire Général* is incomplete for modern French, that Bloch has no room for a bibliography while writing out in full the names of languages, that Gamillscheg exaggerates the Celtic background of French, that Littré would be more useful if he had omitted his etymologies, that Dauzat is too subjective in his semantics, that Wartburg accords dialects as much prominence as he accords literary French, and that the late Antoine Thomas and Meyer-Lübke sprinkled so many asterisks before their etyma that they look like astrological horoscopes. As for Old French, these devotees hold that La Curne de Sainte-Palaye is not worth consulting, that Bos fails to record words that are obscene or examples of those words he includes, that Godefroy's definitions are misleading, and that Tobler ignores all unprinted material.

The appearance last year of a facsimile reprint of Godefroy's ten volumes merely proves that no dictionary has been issued to replace it, but we must leave to others the urgent task of revising it. Of course, if Godefroy had had any previous experience in Old French he would have done the work better, but the chances are that if he had had previous experience, he would never have dared to undertake a task of such herculean proportions. For the sake of justice, *redde Caesari quae sunt Caesaris*; in its field, Godefroy's dictionary is still the most serviceable of all to him who knows how to winnow its chaff. Were it not for the examples he gives for 120,000 Old French words, we should be using the label "hapax legomenon" as readily as James Joyce or Léon Daudet coins a neologism. To appreciate the scope of Godefroy's endeavor, all one needs to do is to read its title in full: "Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du neuvième au quinzième siècle, composé d'après le dépouillement de tous les plus importants documents manuscrits ou imprimés qui se trouvent dans les grandes bibliothèques de la France et de l'Europe et dans les principales archives départementales, municipales, hospitalières ou privées."

Now there is no doubt that the errors of omission and commission in Godefroy are legion. But how is the necessary improvement to be accomplished? There is no crystal-glass offering good visibility for linguistic trends of the future; yet a new program must be devised consonant with the inclinations of American students and useful for improving their knowledge of the literature and culture of mediaeval France.

The gravamen of this report, therefore, is to sketch a systematic curriculum as a guide for doctoral dissertations and profes-

sional research at present and as a contribution to linguistic endeavor.

1. *Collaboration in a lexical manual*

Professor Roques has been commissioned by the French Ministry of National Education to supervise the compilation of a corpus of the French language. Of all the living scholars qualified to supervise the contemplated corpus, no one is more capable than Monsieur Roques, but no one has assumed more commitments in teaching and in research than he. Even if the political and economic conditions were ideal, one could hardly expect him to concentrate all his time and energy upon the vast dictionary. In the *Romania* for 1926 he announced a forthcoming lexical manual for the *Classiques français du moyen âge*. He has told me of a plan to organize "une équipe de collaborateurs." Since ideal conditions do not obtain at this moment in Europe, one might suggest that the members of the French I section of the Modern Language Association offer him both financial and scholarly aid. The immediate publication of that indispensable manual under his guidance would not preclude its incorporation ultimately in the French corpus.

2. *Creation of an agency to prevent duplication and obstruction*

A second suggestion is the establishment of a recognized agency for registering research in progress and the acknowledgment of a "statute of limitation" to rights thus acquired. For decades American scholars have been making Old French monuments available and comprehensible. They have also promised to do so in the future. In several instances so many years have elapsed since the announcement of a mediaeval study that the announcement itself seems shrouded in a kind of mediaeval haze. One would assume that, as a gesture of academic courtesy, an announcement would be withdrawn publicly if no concrete results are evident after a reasonable lapse of time—let us say, a decade after an ordinary project is first announced. If no limitation is applied to a preëmption in research, he who stakes out his claim first may lose his enthusiasm as the years go by, while others are being deterred from trespassing upon that domain. For instance, let us take the case of *Ogier le Danois*, of which we are still forced to use the antiquated edition of Barrois. In 1896 Professor Voretzsch of the University of Halle completed an edition for the *Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur*. Recently a student at the University of North Carolina prepared another edition of it under the direction of Professor Holmes. But Professor Voretzsch has never abandoned the idea of publishing his edition!

In a case where only an antiquated edition of a text or no printed edition at all exists, it is still possible to overcome the practical difficulties besetting a completed edition which merits publication eventually. The American Documentation Institute might sponsor a microfilm series of editions now typewritten, and make copies of them upon request. The list of titles might be published by the M.L.A. Photographic Reproduction Committee. The cost would be nominal, and the criticism received from specialists would enable the editor to improve the text before publication.

Very often in the past two editions of the same text were published simultaneously and independently, for example:

Damoisele a la mure,
 Passion du Palatinus,
 Vie de Saint Alexis,
 Gautier de Dargies,
 Guibert d'Andrenas,
 Aiol et Mirabel,
 Roman des Romans,
 Floire et Blancheflor,
 La Bible de Hugues de Berzé.

This tendency towards overlapping seems destined to continue in the future. Among forthcoming editions are two of:

Erec et Enide,
 Partonopeus de Blois,
 Berte aux grans piés,
 Renart le Nouvel,
 Chronique des Ducs de Normandie,
 Vie de Saint Nicolas,
 Le Voie d'enfer et de paradis,
 Le Didot-Perceval,
 Le Secret des secrets,
 Le Dialogue entre Saint Julien et son disciple,
 Le Livre de la paix,
 Gilles de Chin.

The *Chanson de Roland* edition of Jenkins marked a decided advance over the work of the ten preceding editors, but it was followed by four more editions within a decade. Why Thomov of the University of Sofia is preparing a new edition is a question which I raise—but do not answer. Koenig of Arizona edited *Le Conte de Poitiers* in 1937; another edition has been presented at the Ecole

des Chartes by Lesourd, while new editions are being prepared by Jeanneret at Toronto and by Malmberg at Lund.

This duplication of effort is not necessarily misdirected, but I am inclined to think that in some cases one of the editors would have chosen another text if he had known that it was being edited elsewhere. Announcements in scattered sources can be assembled to present an up-to-date list of forthcoming editions of Old French texts by both European and American scholars. That list should appear in *Work in Progress*, if possible; offprints of it can be distributed widely without offense if there is an official sponsorship. It will obviate fruitless duplication in the future when so much soil fit for cultivation lies fallow.

3. *Preparation of a catalogue of mediaeval French scientific treatises*

It is conceded that most of the literary fields have been ploughed with deep furrows, but there is no dearth of technical and didactic treatises buried in manuscripts. In 1930 Professor Lynn Thorndike issued a prospectus for a corpus of mediaeval scientific literature in Latin. As a third project, the preparation of a list of the French titles, together with an enumeration of extant manuscripts, may prompt future editors to open these arcana of mediaeval science.

4. *Compilation of glossaries for previously edited texts*

This program, however, should not be limited to editions or reëditions. There are many single texts of literary merit in Old French, which have been printed without any glossary and which could yield valuable material for a linguistic thesis or dissertation. There are approximately eighty long and important editions of literary works of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries which are still awaiting a glossary. A list of these texts was printed as section VIII of the *Répertoire des lexiques du vieux français* in 1937. An appeal to fill in these lacunae should receive wide recognition, because one does not need to have access to a very large library in order to perform this circumscribed spade-work, and yet keen discernment will be required for every glossary in determining which words are to be recorded and which words are superfluous.

The shift from philology, as characteristic of the output of the first generation of American masters, to literature, as it is emphasized by their present disciples, has resulted in an unfortunate conflict. A widespread misconception treats research in lexicography as inferior to research in literary criticism. It is otiose to call one field arid and the other field fertile. It is relevant to note that, while

slips can be stored in a kind of scriptorium for ultimate incorporation in the Thesaurus, a glossary has an immediate value for the interpretation of a literary masterpiece if the word-list has been subjected to the proper control. It is hoped that editors of learned journals will become less reluctant than they have been heretofore in accepting contributions of a linguistic nature.

5. Publication of a bibliography of word-studies

There is a need for a systematic bibliography of scattered word-studies. As a point of departure, it will be advisable to consult *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*, which, it is hoped, will continue its valuable service despite the war. This compilation could serve as a supplement to the *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, and it would include those monographs which reject the etymon given in the *R. E. W.* or which treat of words lacking in the *R. E. W.* Until another Meyer-Lübke appears on the scene, each scholar will need to discriminate between the scientific and the pseudo-scientific items before using them for his particular investigation. Naturally it will be of no use to the specialist who has the habit of keeping up an exhaustive list of references for his own purpose.

6. Formation of a chronological list of all Old French works

The last suggested desideratum is a chronological arrangement of all Old French works, utilizing the products of recent research. When Gaston Paris published his list, Romance scholarship had just developed beyond the embryonic stage. Today the task could be entrusted to a coterie of mature students in a position to receive the proper academic guidance.

All of us can use those bibliographical tools more or less, but few of us have the perseverance to make one. As a rule, we prefer to rest in the cozy groove of our specialty. We have settled down in a field pleasing to us, we practice intensive cultivation of it, and we are adverse to introducing rotation of crops. It is reasonable to suppose that most of the work in the compilation will really fall on those who, in prose, are called "graduate students" and, in poetry, are called "potential scholars." There is no intention, however, of devising a rigid code to control useful production or to throttle individual initiative. This survey of Old French lexicography was prompted by the observation that its current status is quite static on the European front; therefore, it devolves upon American centers of research to carry on with an energy as dynamic as possible.

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LATE VINLAND TRADITION (THE THORBJÖRN NARRATIVE)

By JOHN TH. HONTI

I

There is one written source of Vinland tradition¹ which to this day has had little heed. In fact, since its publication a century ago from a seventeenth century MS² it has left hardly any trace on Vinland scholarship. The edition of Rafn (which was accompanied by a Danish and a Latin translation) being at present not readily available, I will begin the present paper by reprinting the text, together with an English translation.

Af Þorbirni karlsefni³

I. 1. Þorbjörn hét maðr ok kallaðr karlsefni, hann lézt mundi kanna umhverfis Grænland, framar enn aðrir höfðu áðr uppsigt ok kannat. 2. Hann sigldi suðvestr fyrir Grænland, þartil landskostur batnaði meir ok meir; hann fann ok uppsigldi margt, þat sem aldri fannst síðan; hann fann ok eininn Skrælingja; þær þjóðir kalla sumar bækr Lappa. 3. Hann fékk í einum stað tvær skepnur líkari apinju enn manneskju, er hann kallaði Haka ok Hekju; þau runnu svá mikit sem mjóhundr, ok höfðu fátt klæða. II. 4. Þau sendi Þorbjörn á landit at renna, ok skyldu aptr koma með þat bezta þau findi. 5. Þau runnu, ok aptr komu, annat með vínvið, en annat með hveitisaksi [MS -sakri], þat kunngjörandi, at þu höfðu þar komit, sem sjálfsáð var hveiti, ok sjálfvaxinn vínvið; svá voru þar landskostir góðir. 6. Þorbjörn varð næsta glaðr við þessi tíðindi, ok vildi þangat halda. III. 7. Litlu síðar mætti honus ótöluligr lýðr af Skrælingjum, ok létust vilja kaupskap hafa við Þorbjörn ok hans menn. 8. En þessir Skrælingjar höfðu mesta sókn eptir skróði eða járn, ok keyptu svá dýrt sem hinir vildu í fyrstu. 9. Síðan sem skróðit tók at þrjóta, skáru menn Þorbjarnar smærra ok smærra, þartil Skrælingjar reiddust, ok svá sló í bardaga með þeim. 10. Svá

¹ In insisting on the word "tradition" I hold to the point of view already set forth in my two earlier Vinland papers ("New Ways to Vinland Problems," *Acta Ethnologica* for 1938, pp. 17 ff. and "Vinland and Ultima Thule," *MLN* for 1939, pp. 159 ff.) In these papers I have laid stress upon the fact that the Vinland narratives give us more than historical information or information about the history of geographical knowledge, in that they bear witness, besides, to the attitude of a human community toward happenings in which members of the community took part. The Vinland narratives, in other words, represent a tradition which arose in a community fond of, and interested in, adventurous life.

² Carl Christian Rafn, *Antiquitates Americanae* (Hafniae, 1837), pp. 196 ff.

³ Pp. 17 to 19 of Arnamagnæan MS 4to No. 770. c.e.—I am beholden to the authorities of the Copenhagen Royal Library for securing me a photostat copy of the MS.

fjölgaði þá um síðir, at Þorbirni þótti ofrefli, ok þó þeir hyggi þá niðr sem hráviði, þá var æ þykkra eptir, þat tók [*missing in MS*] þó yfir, at þeim þótti sem nokkrir hverfi í jörð niðr undan sverðs-höggum. 11. Hér fyrir sáu þeir Þorbjörn ok hans menn ekki sinn kost at þreyta við þennan ótöluliga fjölda; hlaut þar við skiljast, þó landsgæði væri ærinn, ok vildi enn víðara til leita. IV. 12. Síðan hitti Þorbjörn í maðkasjó, semm liggr nær Vinlandi; sem þar var komit, ok maðkr sá smó neðan skipit til ófæru, neytti Þorbjörn allra ráða, sem finnast mátti, eða ef nokkr bráð findist, sem maðkr sá forðaðist; hún fannst engin á skipinu, utan seltjara sú er han hafði úr Grænlandi; var þá skipit búit við sökkuvi. 13. Síðan bræddu þeir skipbátinn, ok settu út; honum mátti maðkrinn ekki granda, því hann forðaðist seltjöruna. 14. Fóru þá menn með hlutfalli í bátinn, því ekki komust allir. 15. Þorbirni sjálfum hlotnaðist í bátinn at fara. 16. Þá gekk fram á skipit ungr maðr, mikill kappi, islenzkr at ætt, segjandi Þorbjörn öðru lofat hafa foreldrum sínum á Íslandi, er hann réðst í flokk hans, en skilja svá við sik. 17. Þorbjörn svarar: "Frekr er hverr til fjörsins, skal ok svá vera, sem ek lofaði; þú ert ungr, en ek gamall, ok far ofann í minn stað!" 18. Síðan fór Þorbjörn upp á skipit í stað hans; ok hefir eigi síðan spurzt til hans né þeirra sem eptir urðu.

Of Thorbjörn Karlsefni

I. 1. There was a man named Thorbjörn and called Karlsefni (i.e., the makings of a man), he said he was going to explore Greenland all around, farther than others ever had sailed and explored. 2. He sailed southwest from Greenland until the quality of the land grew better and better; he found, and reached by sailing, many things that were never found afterwards; he found also Skraelings; some books call these people Lapps. 3. In one place he got hold of two creatures more like apes than men, whom he called Haki and Hekja; they ran as fast as greyhounds and had few clothes. II. 4. Thorbjörn sent them to run inland, and they were to come back with the best they could find. 5. They ran, and came back, one with a vine and the other with an ear of wheat; that showed that they had come to a place where wheat was self-sown and grape-vines grew wild; so good was the quality of the land there. 6. Thorbjörn was very glad at these tidings and determined to hold his course thither. III. 7. A little after that a numberless throng of Skraelings met him, and they said they wished to barter with Þorbjörn and his men. 8. And these Skraelings wanted cloth and iron most of all, and at first paid whatever they asked. 9. Later on, as the cloth began to run short, Thorbjörn's men cut [the pieces] smaller and smaller, until the Skraelings grew angry, and so it came to a fight between them. 10. At length they increased in number so much that to Thorbjörn they seemed to be in overwhelming force, and though they cut them down like saplings, it was always thicker afterwards, but it ended with some of them seeming to vanish down

into the earth from under the sword-strokes. 11. Therefore Thorbjörn and his men saw no way to cope with that numberless throng; he had to leave, though the land was good, and he wished to explore still further. IV. 12. After that Thorbjörn got into the maggots-sea that lies near Vinland; when he got there and those maggots bored their way into the ship from beneath to the point of shipwreck, Thorbjörn did everything he could to find some kind of pitch that would keep off the maggots; nothing of the kind was to be found aboard, however, except the tar from seal-fat which he had brought from Greenland; the ship was then about to sink. 13. Afterwards they smeared the cockboat with the tar and set out; the maggots would not do any harm to this, because they shunned the seal-tar. 14. Then the men got into the boat by lot, because it would not hold them all. 15. Thorbjörn himself won by lot a place in the boat. 16. Then a young man stepped forward on the ship, a great champion, an Iclander by descent, saying that it was not *this* leavetaking of him that Thorbjörn had promised his parents in Iceland when he joined his crew. 17. Thorbjörn answers, "Every man is eager for life, but it shall be as I promised; thou art young and I am old, so go down [into the boat] in my stead." 18. Then Thorbjörn went up into the ship in his stead; and since that time nothing has been heard of him or of those who were left behind.

II

We have here a narrative which no doubt is a parallel to the so-called Vinland sagas.⁴ We are told of the discovery of a country where wheat and the grape-vine grow wild, of fights with Skraelings which keep the discoverers from reaching or settling in this country, and even the name *Vínland* is once mentioned. These features are common to the two sagas and the Thorbjörn narrative.⁵ It is to be noted that nothing new about Vinland can be learned from ThN, which includes no details not already recorded in Es and Gþ. This fact presumably accounts for the neglect of ThN by students of the Vinland tale. It is of interest, however, to determine the place of ThN in the Vinland tradition. When we know its relation to Es and Gþ, we shall be able to appreciate the differences in style, in tone and especially in attitude, and we may hope to reach conclusions which have a bearing on the Vinland problem as a whole. A short preliminary comparison may serve to guide us on our way.

The name of the hero is Thorbjörn Karlsefni, and this name, as Rafn noted,⁶ is evidently a combination of the names of Thorfinn Karlsefni and Bjarni Grimolfsson. Neither Es nor Gþ has a clearly

⁴ *Eiríks saga rauða* and *Grænlandinga þáttur*, hereafter referred to as Es and Gþ respectively.

⁵ This narrative will hereafter be referred to as ThN.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

defined hero, but in both, and especially in Es, Thorfinn Karlsefni is by far the most important character. Bjarni does not appear in Gþ, while in Es he is the hero of the shipwreck episode. This episode, wanting in Gþ, is markedly stressed in ThN. The two runners likewise are common to ThN and Es, but play no part in Gþ. Moreover, in ThN and Es alike, Vinland is not spoken of as a country actually reached, whereas in Gþ the reaching of Vinland is mentioned frequently. The report of the runners about the land where wheat and grape-vines grow wild does not move the explorers, in Es, to go thither at once. There are long discussions about the way to reach this land, and only after a winter spent elsewhere do they reach a place which they call, not Vinland but Hóp. Similarly, in ThN we are told that the hero determined to hold his course towards the land seen by the runners, but we are given no explicit statement that he actually reached either a country where wheat and grape-vines grew wild or a country called Vinland. When the name Vinland is mentioned, it is mentioned only as a geographical determinative (i.e., as a means of localizing the maggots-sea). The products of Vinland are wheat and grapes according to ThN, while Gþ has only grapes. Es has both, and the *másur* tree besides, a tree which does not appear in ThN and appears only in the final episode of Gþ. The chief article of commerce in the bartering with the Skrælings is cloth in ThN and Es, while it is milk food in Gþ. The shipwreck, as already mentioned, does not appear in Gþ, while ThN and Es have it.

The comparison given above is enough to show that there is a much closer relation between ThN and Es than between ThN and Gþ. In considering the relationships between the three texts, three possibilities must be weighed. First, there may be a textual dependence of ThN on Es; if so, the former would derive in a purely literary way from the written text of the latter. Secondly, ThN may go back to the same oral tradition that came to be recorded in the Es text. Thirdly, one may suppose that the historical events gave birth to (at least) three traditional versions of these events, and that the version which was to become ThN kept closer to the one which was to become Es than it did to the one which was to become Gþ. This third possibility, however, can hardly be considered without more knowledge of the early history of the Vinland tradition than we actually have. Indeed, we do not yet know whether this tradition, as early as the events themselves, took shape in two versions or variants (Es and Gþ, not to speak of ThN, which hitherto has been practically ignored), or whether the tradition was first unified and only later split up into branches. The only thing we can hope to do just now, then, is to settle the question of whether ThN

is a mere compilation based on the Es text or whether it bears independent witness to the existence of the Vinland tradition. If the second of these alternatives proves the more likely, we shall then be able to define more precisely the relationships of the three texts, but without a thorough (and not yet attempted) comparative examination of Es and Gþ, the early history of Vinland tradition can hardly be traced.⁷

III

The first possibility to be reckoned with, the textual dependence of ThN on Es, finds support in the fact that the whole MS in which ThN has come down to us is made up of excerpts dealing with geographical matters. For this reason, even if no verbal agreements between the two texts can be found, the possibility of dependence remains so long as no evidence to the contrary is brought to light. In fact, there is no verbal agreement between ThN and Es, except for certain doubtful passages which we shall now examine. First, the passage (numbered 5 in the text above) which tells of the return of the runners:

Pau runnu, ok aptr komu, annat með vínvið, en annat með hveitisaksi, þat kunngjörandi, at þau höfðu þar komit, sem sjálfsáð var hveiti, ok sjálfvaxinn vínviðr; svá voru þar landskostir góðir.

The two MSS of Es (A and B)⁸ differ somewhat from each other in their record of the same event (cap. 8):

A. En er þau kómu aptr, hafði annat í hendi vínberjaköngul, en annat hveitiaks nýsát.

B. Hljópu þau af landi ofan, ok hafði annat þeira í hendi vínber, en annat hveiti sjálfsát.

Comparison of these passages leads one to think that ThN is rather a paraphrase of Es than an excerpt. The editors of Es adopted the reading of MS A, but rightly replaced *nýsát* by the *sjálfsát* of MS B; rightly, I say, because the tradition surely insisted upon *self-sown* wheat. In two more passages of Es we find the same facts given:

Cap. 5: Váru þar hveitiakrar sjálfsánir ok vínviðr vaxinn.

Cap. 10: Þeir fundu þar á landi sjálfsána hveitiakra, þar sem lægðir váru, en vínvið alt þar sem holta vissi.

It is this mere statement of the facts that we have in Es, whereas in ThN a (rather clumsy) deduction has been added: "The runners re-

⁷ See *Acta Ethnologica* for 1938, pp. 21 ff.

⁸ See the facsimile edition in A. M. Reeves, *The Finding of Wineland the Good* (London, 1890), pp. 104 ff. and 122 ff. respectively.

turned with wheat and grapes, *and that showed* that at the place they had reached the wheat was self-sown and the grape-vine self-grown." This indicates that the redaction of ThN is more sophisticated than that of the older texts, in that it tries to explain in some manner the marvelous discovery. ThN betrays a more advanced state of knowledge, too, in recording the fact that not only the wheat plant but also the grape-vine grew wild. The sagas say nothing of the wildness of the grapes, probably because their authors were not well enough acquainted with vineyards and did not know that grape-vines needed to be cultivated. The author of ThN (or the tradition represented by ThN) had this knowledge and it is quite naturally reflected in ThN.

In the passage under discussion we have found some degree of verbal agreement between Es and ThN, but if there is any dependence of the later text on the earlier, this must be explained in terms of paraphrasing, not of shortening. And yet, when we compare the length of the two texts and see how much shorter ThN is, we can hardly believe that its author, shortening everywhere, would intentionally have paraphrased rather than shortened this one passage, had he had an Es text before him. On the other hand, if we presume a merely oral connection between the two texts, we can explain both the agreements and the differences. In the very concise saga style (and ThN as well as Es was composed in this style) it would be very hard to tell the same simple thing in two markedly different ways. This fact is enough to explain the agreements. And if each text was composed independently, drawing on oral tradition only, we can understand why the shorter one may incidentally be more explicit in a given case, where its author, because of his greater sophistication and more advanced state of knowledge, feels that he has more to say. This particular case of verbal agreement, therefore, cannot be used as an argument for the dependence of ThN on Es.

Our next case of verbal agreement leads us to a like conclusion. In ThN we are told of Thorbjörn's meeting with the Skrælings and his fight with them. The passage reads:

10. Svá fjölgaði þá um síðir, at Þorbirni þótti ofrefli, ok þó þeir hyggi þá niðr sem hráviði, þá var æ þykkra eptir, þat tók þó yfir, at þeim þótti sem nokkrir hverfi í jörð niðr undan sverðshöggum.

Here the narrator wishes to bring out that there is something supernatural in the resistance of the Skrælings. Though the Northmen "cut them down like saplings, it [i.e., the crowd of Skrælings] was always thicker afterwards." Now, after describing them as increasing magically in spite of their being cut down, he goes on in a rather contradictory manner: "it seemed to them as if some vanished down

into the earth from under the sword-strokes." This sinking down of the Skrälings into the earth appears in Es in almost the same wording: . . . *ok sukku þeir Skrálingar í jörð niðr* (Cap. 12). Here, however, it is connected, not with the struggle at Hóp, but with Thorfinn's return journey, when he and his crew meet a small group of Skrälings, one man, two women and two children. Thorfinn seizes the children, the rest sink down into the earth. In this case, therefore, the similarity of words is by no means a proof of literary dependence. On the contrary, the fact that the sinking down into the earth appears in the two texts in quite different connections seems to show that the likeness is of a more general character, applicable to the Skrälings as such, not to their behavior on a single occasion. The Vinland sagas, it is true, apart from the Es passage quoted above, do not give to the Skrälings supernatural characteristics. But the Es passage makes it clear that by the time Es was reduced to writing magical powers were already being attributed to the Skrälings. The identification of the Skrälings with the Lapps which we find in ThN (sec. 2) is to be connected with the wizardry attributed to them: it is well known that the Northmen of old considered the Lapps to be magicians.⁹ The fact that books are cited as authorities for the identification of the Skrälings with the Lapps might be brought forward as an argument for the learned origin of the ThN text. But the reference to books shows only the learned apparatus of the writer of the MS. The mention of the Skrälings at the beginning of the narrative seems out of place, indeed, since they are not again mentioned until much later. Such an anticipation might just as well (if not better) have taken place in oral tradition.

Later on we find in ThN a passage which might perhaps be used to uphold the theory of literary derivation. It is in the shipwreck episode, when the young Iclander persuades the hero to give him his place in the cockboat. In Es (cap. 13), a rather dramatic dialogue takes place between the two men. The two MSS are somewhat different in wording, so that we had better quote the passage from both:

MS A: En er þeir váru komnir í bátinn, þá mælti einn íslenzkr maðr, er þá var í skipinu ok Bjarna hafði fylgt af Íslandi: "Ætlar þú, Bjarni, hér at skiljask við mik?" Bjarni svaraði: "Svá verðr nú at vera." Hann svaraði: "Öðru hézt þú föður mínum, þá er ek fór af Íslandi með þér, en skiljask svá við mik, þá er þú sagðir at

⁹ If *skrálingr* originally meant simply "native, barbarian" (see H. Hermannsson, *Islandica*, XXV, 22, n. 1), it might have been connected in some way with the Lapps, the barbarians *par excellence* of the North, at a date much earlier than that of ThN; in such case, the magic powers of the Skrälings would be derivable from the Lapps. But this etymology of *skrálingr* is dubious, and no such derivation is needed, to account for the wizardry of the Skrälings.

eitt skyldi ganga yfir okkr báða." Bjarni svaraði: "Eigi skal ok svá vera; gakk þú hingat í bátinn, en ek man upp fara í skipit, því at sé, at þú ert svá fúss til fjörsins."

MS B: Þá er menn váru komnir í bátinn, mælti einn ungr maðr íslenzkr, sá er verit hafði förunautr Bjarna: "Ætlar þú, Bjarni, at skiljask hér við mik?" Bjarni svarar: "Svá verðr nú at vera." Mann segir: "Svá, með því at þú hézt mér eigi því, þá er ek fór með þér af Islandi frá búi föður míns." Bjarni segir: "Eigi sé ek hér þó annat ráð til," eða svarar: "Hvat leggr þú til ráðs?" Hann segir: "Sé ek ráðit til, at vit skiptumsk í rúmunum ok farir þú hingat, en ek mun þangat." Bjarni svarar: "Svá skal vera, ok þat sé ek, at þú vinnr gjarna til lífs, ok þykkir mikit fyrir at deyja."

This dialogue reappears in ThN, partly transposed into *oratio obliqua*. A somewhat shortened paraphrase of a dialogue might well begin in *oratio obliqua* but conclude in *oratio recta*. Nevertheless we are compelled to interpret this case as we interpreted the two previous cases of verbal agreement. Indeed, it is worthy of note that the ThN text contains *more* than the older saga, that it shows a more developed (or more corrupt) stage of tradition. First, the young Icelander is described as *mikill kappi* "a great champion," a description which does not fit his behavior at all well; Es, quite properly, has nothing of the kind. A learned composer of excerpts, with his original text at hand, would not be guilty of such a misstatement, whereas the formalism of oral tradition, in an age when saga style had declined and the very genre was dead (we shall soon make it plain that ThN is no true saga), might very well lead to the use of non-characterizing, stereotyped epithets. Secondly, words are put into the mouth of the hero of ThN which a saga hero would hardly have spoken. Thorbjörn leaves his safe place, saying: "Thou art young and I am old." The real poetic value of the shipwreck episode in Es lies in the objectivity with which healthy egoism, without hypocrisy, and self-denying heroism are laconically reported; the only comment on the unheroic character of the young Icelander is that which Bjarni allows himself to make at the end. Bjarni's contemptuous words reappear in ThN stripped of their contempt, sentimentalized, indeed, and the youth is presented sympathetically. This is something *new*, compared with the spirit of Es. A like process explains the generalized, sententious turn which Bjarni's contemptuous "You cling to life" takes in the mouth of Thorbjörn. Besides, while looking at the details, we must not forget the whole. Even if the few cases where textual derivation is possible could not be explained better in terms of oral tradition, we should be bound to bear in mind that if ThN *were* an excerpt or a paraphrase, this would manifest itself not only in certain details of three short

passages but throughout the text. In sum, we can state as our first conclusion that ThN does not depend, as a literary work, on Es, but that it, no less than Es, is the ending point of a line of oral tradition. We shall never know, to be sure, whether the ThN text is the *first* written form of the line of tradition which it represents. It might very well be an excerpt, paraphrase or transcript of another literary work, now lost. But, even so, this hypothetical lost text was late, by virtue of evidence already presented, and no longer a true saga, as we shall see. ThN may therefore be described as a crystallization of a late oral tradition about Vinland, and this it is which makes it interesting to us.

IV

Examination of verbal similarities with Es was enough, of itself, to show the independence of the ThN text. If now we look at the differences between the two texts, our conclusion becomes even more clearly the right one. The very aim of ThN seems to be quite different from that of the Vinland sagas. These latter are the story of western exploration: they try to include every known voyage to the New Continent. In accordance with the requirements of the saga genre they exhaust their subject so far as possible. In the same way, an *Islendingasaga* tells the history of a given family for generations (from its beginnings, so far as known, to the end of the *söguöld*) or deals with every inhabitant of a given landscape. ThN, on the contrary, is nothing but the story of a single episode.

Yet, if this were its only peculiarity, the Thorbjörn narrative could still be explained as an excerpt from a saga text, an excerpt made by someone interested only in a single group of events. But ThN is marked by other special features. The Vinland sagas have no central episode. No saga has; for a sagaman, everything is of equal importance. In ThN, however, everything clearly centers about the shipwreck episode. A little measurement is enough to show this. In Rafn's edition, ThN consists of 82 lines, out of which 30, that is, 36.6 per cent, deal with the shipwreck episode. That part of Es which begins with Thorfinn's decision to go to Vinland, and ends with the section before the list of Thorfinn's offspring, is made up of 428 lines in Rafn's edition, if we do not count the verses; of these lines, 52 in MS B (43 in MS A) suffice to tell the story of the shipwreck. In other words, even the longer version of the shipwreck amounts to only 12.1 per cent of the whole in the tale of Thorfinn's adventures. These numerical differences would perhaps have no value if we were concerned with ordinary epic narration, but in the concise Old Icelandic style they *are* significant.

Besides, there is another feature of ThN, equally significant, which we have already alluded to. Bjarni, in the tradition reflected by the Vinland sagas, is a character of minor importance: Es hardly mentions him, apart from the shipwreck episode, of which he is the hero; and Gþ does not know him at all. The hero of ThN, on the contrary, owes even a part of his *name* to Bjarni. The name of the principal hero of Es and, probably, of the whole older tradition, Thorfinn Karlsefni, was combined, in ThN, with that of Bjarni, to give the name Thorbjörn Karlsefni, and the bearer of this name is the hero of the narrative as a whole. This change can be explained only on the supposition that the hero of the shipwreck episode played a more important part in this late form of the tradition. Indeed, an early form of the tradition, like that represented in Es, had to be worked over entirely, to produce the form we find in ThN.

In details, too, we mark important differences between Es and ThN, not only as to facts and events, but also as to interpretation and point of view, and the latter differences have a special value for this study. In the very beginning (sec. 3) such a difference marks the description of the two runners. In Es (cap. 8) they are described in detail: they were Scotch; King Olaf Tryggvason gave them to Leif and in this way they came to join Thorfinn's crew; their dress is described, and is called *kjalfal*; according to Nansen,¹⁰ both description and name fit the Irish *cabhail*. None of these details are known to the tradition represented by ThN; on the contrary, the two runners do not seem to be considered as normal human beings at all. We are told, indeed, that they were more like apes than men and that they were almost naked. In the translation given above we have rendered *hann fékk í einum stað tvær skepnur* by "he got hold of two creatures," but as there is nothing of the normal human being in the runners we had better take the other, less general meaning of *fá* and translate "he caught." These runners, as described in ThN, seem to belong to the mysterious side of the country under exploration. In other words, ThN, as compared with Es, gives to mystery a broader field. And if it is true that even in the Vinland sagas the new world gave rise to a play of imagination unusual in sagas,¹¹ it is also true that this play of imagination went further during the time when the ThN version was being created by tradition.

Development proceeded in other ways too, of course. In ThN we find sequences more logical than the corresponding ones of Es. An example of this is the decision taken by the explorers after the return of Haki and Hekja. We have already pointed out how illogical it is that in Es (chapters 8 and 9) Thorfinn does not at once

¹⁰ In *Northern Mists* (London, 1911), I, 341 f.

¹¹ Cf. *Acta Ethnologica* (1938), pp. 17 ff.

decide to go to the place which the runners saw. Instead of such a decision, we actually find a long and unsettled dispute about where to look for Vinland. This contradiction gave rise (among scholars) to the theory that the episode of the runners had been interpolated,¹² or at least wrongly placed in the Es text.¹³ Its occurrence in ThN, however, shows clearly enough that it *does* belong to tradition, and even if it was wrongly placed the compiler of Es was not the one responsible for the blunder. It was in oral tradition that the episode got the place which it holds in both Es and ThN. And knowing as we do that Vinland by nature was a country only to be looked for, not to be reached and seen,¹⁴ we have no need to suppose an error in the tradition. Vinland may be heard of (in the account of the runners), but getting there remains a problem. The Vinland of tradition is presented in these terms, and it is this feature of the tradition which accounts for the seemingly illogical construction of the Es episode.

In ThN, we have nothing of this. Thorbjörn is cheered by the news (sec. 6) and by the tokens which the runners brought back, and makes up his mind to seek out this fertile country at once. In this matter, later tradition was logical enough, and we might attribute the change to some clerk, but for the subsequent silence of ThN about reaching Vinland, a silence imposed by the necessity of not clashing with the fundamental attitude of the tradition here. We learn of Thorbjörn's resolve, we even learn, later on (sec. 11), that the land they reached really was fertile (though Rafn exaggerates when he translates the passage by *eximia propositia essent terrae commoda*), but there is never a word of Thorbjörn's having seen with his own eyes the wheat and grapes growing wild, nor are we told that he reached a country which he, or others, called Vinland. In other words, ThN clings to the attitude of the older tradition in the really essential points, although it sharpens episodes in order to get more striking effects, and improves the logical sequence of events, as oral tradition often does.

Logical improvement is also to be noted in the episode about the Skrælings. I refer particularly to the explanation given for the hostility of the Skrælings. Here the earlier tradition is very uncertain. In Es (cap. 11) we are told of two meetings between Norse and Skrælings. At the first meeting, the Skrælings make the sign of peace and start bartering; they give furs and ask for cloth and iron. The Norsemen are clever enough not to sell any iron, and, in selling

¹² W. H. Babcock, *Early Norse Visits to America* (Washington, 1913), p. 102; Nansen, *op. cit.*, I, 342 f.; II, 65.

¹³ F. Jónsson, *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1915, pp. 210 ff.; Hermannsson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁴ See *Acta Ethnologica*, 1938, pp. 21 ff.

the cloth, to cut off smaller and smaller pieces as their supply of cloth lessens, while exacting the same price, whatever the size of the piece. After a while, frightened by a bullock, the Skrälings run away. Later on, when they come back, they make the sign of war. No reason is given for this change from friendliness to hostility, unless it be their fear of the bullock. In Gþ (cap. 7) we get a better explanation. Here also Thorfinn forbids the sale of iron objects. The Skrälings, inexperienced in trading, buy milk food, and, as the saga says, "such was the trading expedition of the Skrälings, that they carried away their wares in their bellies." But then one of the Skrälings tries to take a weapon, one of Thorfinn's men kills him, and this slaying motivates the hostilities. In view of the disagreement between Es and Gþ, it would seem that the earlier tradition was uncertain of what caused the fight. Gþ, which in many cases shows a more developed tradition, gives an explanation based wholly upon the fact that the sale of weapons to the Skrälings had been forbidden, a prohibition recorded in Es but not there used to motivate the hostilities.

In ThN no such prohibition is recorded. In sec. 8 we are told that the Skrälings want to buy iron and cloth; after this statement, we hear more about the cloth, but nothing about the iron. Tradition kept the trait that the Skrälings bought no iron, but lost the trait that the Norsemen were forbidden to sell iron objects. The reason for the loss of this trait seems fairly clear. The two Vinland sagas present the Skrälings as savages rather than barbarians. As such, they would, of course, have no iron weapons (this is implied in the prohibition of the sale of such weapons to them), and it is made clear that in bartering they behave like the savages of later times, who gave precious things like gold and ivory for glass beads. In ThN, on the other hand, as we have already seen, the Skrälings are somewhat more like Europeans: they have been confounded with the Lapps. For this reason the bearers of the tradition reflected in ThN did not think of the Skrälings as without iron, and, accordingly, could make nothing of the trait by which the sale of iron to the Skrälings was forbidden. This trait was lost because it seemed senseless to the bearers of the ThN tradition. At the same time, however, the ThN tradition seized upon another trait present in Es and presumably in early tradition, namely, the short measure which the Norsemen gave to the Skrälings in their sales of cloth, and used this trait to explain the fight. Since the Skrälings of ThN are not presented as savages, but simply as barbarians, it is logical to hold this short measure (sec. 9) responsible for the growing anger of the Skrälings and their eventual resort to violence. At any rate, a development of tradition, independent of Es and parallel to Gþ

(though with a different solution of the problem) is to be noted in ThN.

As regards the wizardry characteristic of the Skrælings of ThN, exemplified (sec. 10) in their multiplication despite heavy manfall and in their disappearance into the bowels of the earth, we have already pointed out that this wizardry developed naturally out of the original situation, and that the development may have been helped by confusion with the Lapps. Such a change may do violence to the historical facts but it keeps close to the original point of view about the New World and what happened there. In this part of ThN, moreover, we see how tradition begins to lose that solid touch with reality so characteristic of the saga genre. The Vinland sagas keep close to real life in their estimates of the number of Skrælings that fell in the fight: according to Es, four fell; according to Gþ, many fell; from neither text do we learn that numberless Skrælings lost their lives. ThN here indulges in an overstatement which reminds us of folk-tale style, but it is natural that such a development should have taken place in the later tradition, at a time when the historical basis of the whole was already forgotten and the events were thought of as mere adventures in a land which nobody else had seen. And this development makes us the surer that ThN was no learned paraphrase of Es.

It is, indeed, as a tale of adventures that ThN presents the sequence of happenings in Thorbjörn's expedition. In the very beginning we are told that the hero started out, not with some definite purpose, like the Thorfinn of the Vinland sagas, but simply to explore further than his foregoers. In the saga age, the people were objective and practical, and would never have undertaken voyages merely in the spirit of exploration. If nothing else, the profit motive, at least, would have been present when they set out. In our text the spirit of a later age, the great age of discovery, seems to manifest itself. And this spirit of adventure persists. After the struggles with the Skrælings, the heroes of the Vinland sagas see that they cannot settle in the country and they make their way home. Not so in ThN (sec. 11); there Thorbjörn realizes, indeed, that he can stay no longer in the land of the Skrælings, and he leaves, but not for home—on the contrary, he proceeds to explore regions remoter still.

ThN represents a tradition which is not only late but also in decline. We have an instance of this decline in a detail of the shipwreck episode. When the maggots attack the ship, Bjarni's crew, in Es (cap. 13) know for a certainty that only the boat pitched with seal-tar can bring them to safety. The two MSS of Es agree here:

A: Þeir höfðu bát þann, er bræddr var með seltjöru, því at þar fær eigi sjómaðkr á.

B: Þat seggja menn, at skelmaðkrinn smjúgi eigi þat tré, er seltjörinni er brætt.

In ThN, however, there seems to be some uncertainty about the matter. When Thorbjörn becomes aware of the danger (sec. 12), he tries everything to save the boat. They look for tar and find nothing but seal-tar brought from Greenland. We surely must take this to mean that Thorbjörn knows nothing of the virtue of seal-tar. He uses it only because he has nothing else, and as a last resort, when the ship has begun to sink. This dramatic little scene well illustrates the so-called epic law of *Achtergewicht*,¹⁵ but departs from the older tradition as reflected in Es.

Here again it is not hard to find the explanation. Belief in the existence of a maggot-sea seems to have been current in the saga age. This belief still lives on the American shore of the North Atlantic; we find it, e.g., in a Greenland Eskimo myth.¹⁶ Every such superstition includes, we may say automatically, not only the evil but also the remedy. There was a belief in maggots that wreck ships, but there was also, by a law of folk-lore, a belief that they could be made harmless. Now, when the tradition reflected in ThN took shape, this particular superstition in all likelihood was no longer current in Iceland. But if the people there knew nothing of a maggot-sea, they would also know nothing of its complement, namely the means of escape. The shipwreck episode of our story was handed down in tradition as a strange and most remarkable adventure; for this reason it was not only kept in the story but was stressed. Since, however, the superstitious belief (about which the episode centered) had been lost, the escape was no longer understood, and was interpreted as accidental: the last means, tried at the last moment, was found to work. We see quite clearly the way in which tradition worked out the tale. It was considered merely as an adventure *ad hoc*, and a miraculous escape, with the intentional use of *Achtergewicht*, makes it end fittingly enough. In a true saga, such a trick of literary construction would never have been used; even where supernatural forces appear on the scene, the sagaman bends every effort to make their appearance seem natural or at least not surprising. As we have said, the stage of saga tradition reflected in ThN is one far gone in decline.

¹⁵ A. Olrik, in *ZfdA* for 1909, p. 7.

¹⁶ W. Krickeberg, *Indianermärchen aus Nordamerika* (Jena, 1924), pp. 26 ff.

V

We are about to reach our conclusions. In several connections we have been forced to conclude that *ThN*, in style and composition, is no *Islendingasaga* in the proper sense of that term. We know very well that an *Islendingasaga* is either the history of a local community or the history of a family, and that its heroes act only as the most outstanding and most famous members of these communities or families. Even sagas which center about the figure of one hero who absorbs all the interest of the reader, as the *Eigla*, include as an indispensable part the deeds of the hero's forefathers and some account of the hero's offspring or family. There are other sagas, like the *Njála*, which include the members of several families within the focus of interest, and in them too the family as such is the dominant theme: the heroes act as members of their families, and the reader is interested, not only in their actions, but also in the earlier and later histories of these families. The *Islendingasögur* which deal with the history of a local community, like the *Eyrbyggja*, do not differ from the other sagas in their emphasis upon family history. Every protagonist is introduced with a genealogy, more or less expanded by some account of the deeds of the persons mentioned in it, and every person leaving the stage does so in the company of his most notable descendants. In almost every respect the *Vinland sagas* likewise belong to this group. Instead of their traditional names one might justly call them both *Grænlandingasögur*, since in fact they deal with the deeds and adventures of the first settlers of Greenland, quite as, e.g., the *Vatnsdælasaga* deals with those of *Vatnsdal*.

In *ThN* we find nothing of these features so important in saga composition. The hero is introduced merely by his name; neither his father (not to speak of his remoter ancestors) nor his native country is mentioned, and he disappears from the scene with the last sentence of the narrative: "nothing was ever heard of him afterwards." In one case only do we get a little information: the young man who takes the place of *Thorbjörn* in the boat is said to be an *Icelander*. And yet it must be remembered that *ThN* has nothing of the fragment about it: our study has shown that it cannot be described as a mutilated piece or as an excerpt of a complete saga, taken down by the writer of the MS along with other excerpts. As a narrative, it is a whole. If nevertheless it includes less than do the two *Vinland sagas* which deal with the same events, this brevity comes of the fact that the tale it tells was shortened in oral tradition, and it was while this tale remained in the stage of oral tradition that the proportions of the episodes and the emphases underwent change. That is: if *ThN* ever was a saga, it has lost many of its

characteristic features. The question now before us is this: Is it possible that a saga, living for too long a time as oral tradition, might pass into another genre, such a one as that which ThN belongs to?

Not many of the *Islendingasaga* complexes of events underwent two or more distinct treatments in tradition, leading to as many distinct written versions. There are cases of such a phenomenon,¹⁷ but they are rather rare. It is an accepted fact that the two Vinland sagas constitute such a case.¹⁸ It may be argued that, since even *two* distinct lines of tradition are a rarity, we should be slow in presuming that Vinland tradition was current in *three* different versions. In fact, however, we have no other choice. In every point taken up, we were able to explain ThN as the representative of a saga tradition in decline if not already decomposed: we saw the saga features as well as the features of decline. But now the question comes up, Why were the Vinland sagas given such a long life in tradition, while other saga complexes, far more popular, seem to have died out of oral tradition almost as soon as they were put on paper? The second half of this question is easily answered: the other sagas, just because they were popular in written form, quickly disappeared from oral tradition. There is no point in remembering and handing down orally a tale readily available in writing. As regards the Vinland saga-complex, we will now venture upon an explanation of the fact that this complex persisted so much longer in oral tradition and underwent changes so important as finally to lose its saga character. Our theory is that the earlier stage of Vinland tradition, as recorded in the Vinland sagas, already contained, in germ, the peculiarities under consideration.

We have already noted that the two Vinland sagas in all likelihood belong to that group of *Islendingasögur* concerned to tell the history of local communities. But we cannot be quite certain that this is an absolutely correct classification of the Vinland sagas. We have thought of them as sagas for so long that our minds have been closed to an alternative possibility. Rigorous investigation might well show that between the common *Islendingasaga* genre and the two so-called Vinland sagas there are differences of a certain importance. And even without such an investigation we may point out some facts sufficient for our present purposes.

The Vinland sagas are the only ones to deal with a subject or theme permeated by the feeling of mystery. As I have perhaps succeeded in demonstrating in my previous papers, this feeling is

¹⁷ See K. Liestøl, *The Origin of the Icelandic Family Sagas* (Oslo, 1930), pp. 37 ff., and A. Heusler, *Deutsche Isländforschung* (Breslau, 1930), I, 210 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. Heusler, *ibid.*, p. 210, and *LitBlatt* for 1939, p. 19.

implicit, at least, throughout their narrative. Moreover, the frankly fabulous element figures more largely in them than in the other sagas. One of the fabulous features which Es brings on the stage, namely, the *Einfatingr*, is actually referred to in an intercalated scaldic stanza, and this reference makes it likely that the feature in question belonged to the original tradition.¹⁹ The figure of the "initiated" in Gþ,²⁰ which elsewhere appears only in folk-tale or, more rarely, in heroic poetry, is equally outside the frame of the saga genre. The connection of Vinland with Hvitramannaland, that is, the distant country of the dead (well known in Celtic tradition, but occurring in the religion or folklore of every seaside people in, and even outside, Europe) is a feature belonging to a different sphere from the survivals of Germanic religion in the sagas. It cannot be denied that the Vinland sagas, from some points of view, *are* different from the rest of Islendingasaga tradition.

This difference may perhaps be accounted for in terms of their scene of action, which lies in a distant and unknown land. The mystery of the situation perhaps belongs, indeed, to the historical complex itself and was felt by the actual explorers, who were the first Europeans to set foot on American soil. Or tradition, at a very early stage, brought the historical voyages into connection with myths about the wonders of the far regions of the Ocean; indeed, my recent study of the Vinland passage of Adam of Bremen led me to the conclusion that as early as the eleventh century this connection already existed.²¹ At any rate, alongside all the saga features the germ of fable always was present in Vinland tradition. This helped the tale to survive in oral tradition longer than the rest of the sagas, and had its effect in the shaping of that version, no longer a saga, eventually reduced to writing as the Thorbjörn narrative.

Hungarian National Museum
Budapest

¹⁹ Cf. Liestøl, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

²⁰ Cf. *Acta Ethnologica* for 1938, p. 24.

²¹ See *MLN* for 1939, pp. 159 ff.



CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN'S GERMAN SOURCES

By HARRY R. WARFEL

Although Keats more than a century ago remarked upon the German quality of Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland*,¹ and although scholars have recognized that as an editor Brown printed more items of German literary intelligence² than any other contemporary American, no one has attempted to define Brown's kinship with German novelists. Because his four major novels, *Wieland*, *Ormond*, *Arthur Mervyn*, and *Edgar Huntly*, readily are classified as tales of terror in the prevailing Gothic fashion and because Brown acknowledged inability to surpass William Godwin's *Caleb Williams*, much emphasis has been placed upon Brown's relationship with Godwin, Anne Radcliffe, and Robert Bage as a novelist who combined Radcliffean terror motifs with Godwinian liberal thoughts on social problems.³ I wish here to attenuate that claim of the English origin of Brown's fictional materials by pointing out, first, that Brown reflected the heightened British interest in things German in the late 1790's; second, that Brown's psychologizing and rationalistic tendency followed German as well as English models; and, third, that Brown probably found the theme of *Wieland* in a contemporary German novel.

I need not do more than recall how, after the outbreak of the French Revolution and particularly after 1793, Britishers like Henry Mackenzie, Thomas Holcroft, Matthew Gregory Lewis, and Sir Walter Scott translated and gave publicity to the extraordinary "Sturm und Drang" literature emanating from Germany. Our knowledge of the influence of Goethe, Schiller, and Bürger is quite complete, as is our knowledge of other writers like Christoph Martin Wieland, Klopstock, Lessing, but the extent to which German sub-literary fiction was translated, adapted, and imitated in England seems not to have been studied. Particularly extensive was the in-

¹ Amy Lowell, *John Keats* (Boston, 1925), II, 336: "Between Schiller and Godwin. A domestic prototype of S[ch]iller's Armenian. More clever in plot and incident than Godwin. A strange American scion of the German trunk. Powerful genius—accomplish'd horror."

² Frederick Wilkens, *Early Influence of German Literature in America* (Reprint No. 1, Americana Germanica, Vol. III, No. 2, New York [1900], p. 37); Edward Ziegler Davis, *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines* (Philadelphia, 1905), pp. 207-8; Ernest Marchand, "The Literary Opinions of Charles Brockden Brown," *Studies in Philology*, XXXI (1934), 560-62.

³ Ernest Marchand, ed., *Ormond* (New York, [1937]), Intro., but see p. xxiv: "German romance is only a dash of seasoning in Brown's novels"; and pp. xxxvii-xxxviii, where emphasis is placed on Godwin's influence.

fluence of Goethe's *Werther* (translated in 1779) in creating a host of sentimental novels, and of Schiller's *Die Räuber* (first translated in 1792) in popularizing stories in which youthful heroes rationalized their adoption of banditry as a means of correcting social injustice. Heinrich Zschokke's *Abällino, der Grosse Bandit* (1793; translated in 1798) gave rise to tales of banditry supposedly based upon factual evidence. An historic narrative somewhat similar to Goethe's *Göts von Berlichingen* (translated in 1795) appeared in Christianne Benedicte Naubert's *Hermann von Unna: Eine Geschichte aus der Zeiten der Vehmgerichte* (1788) which was translated in 1794 as *Hermann of Unna: A Series of Adventures of the Fifteenth Century, in which the Proceedings of the Secret Tribunal, under the Emperors Wincelous and Sigismond, Are Delineated*. Here Mrs. Naubert revealed, as did Carlos de Grosse in *Der Genius* which was translated in 1796 by Joseph Trapp as *The Genius* and by Peter Will as *Horrid Mysteries*, the inner workings of the secret societies that caused monarchs to tremble on their thrones. Although the novel of terror had been invented by Horace Walpole in *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), Schiller's partially completed *Der Geisterseher* (1789; translated and published in England and America in 1795 as *The Ghostseer*) reinvigorated the Gothic school and gave rise to many imitators, such as Karl Friedrich Kahlert's *Der Geisterbanner*, which was translated in 1794 as *The Necromancer, or the Tale of the Black Forest*.

I have mentioned these few titles of German novels published in London in the 1790's to indicate the popularity of this form of literature. Just as the Germans had demanded novels "übersetzt aus dem Englischen,"⁴ so the British craved novels "Translated from the German" or having a German setting and German characters. In some cases it is impossible to trace a German original; doubtless "the German ascription was made solely to enhance the popularity and give a fashionable cachet to the work."⁵

With most of the novels published in English during the 1790's Brown was familiar. He patronized the well-stocked circulating libraries in Philadelphia. Hocquet Caritat, the publisher of *Wieland*, maintained a circulating library in New York City, where Brown spent most of the time between 1796 and 1800. Brown's interest in things German was born early, probably because of the proximity of his Philadelphia home to the largest American settlement of Ger-

⁴ Agnes Genevieve Murphy, *Banditry, Chivalry, and Terror in German Fiction, 1790-1830* (Chicago, 1935), p. 31.

⁵ From the preface by Montague Summers to Peter Will's translation, *Horrid Mysteries* (London, 1927), I, xiii.

man, people. Among his friends and schoolmates must have been sons of German immigrants. David Lee Clark asserts that Brown's earliest extant diaries reflect "the very essence of Wertherism . . . the German sentimentalists were his daily companions."⁶ A query to Clark brought the answer that he could not supply proof for this statement, but he did report: "In letters to William Wood Wilkins, dated 1793, Brown quotes in English from Wieland's *Oberon* (Canto VII, 52-53), and says he has read it all aloud—in English I assume; in other letters to Wilkins in the same year, he says that he has read Gesner [*sic*—no titles mentioned; and Liebnitz; and he has high praise for Haller as poet and scientist."⁷ All these authors were represented by English translations of some of their works, although *Oberon* did not appear in a complete English edition until 1798. In young manhood, before he had determined upon a career as a novelist, Brown was familiar with much German literature in translation.

The German atmosphere of *Wieland* did not result from chance. In addition to *Oberon*, Brown had read a series of critical articles on Christoph Martin Wieland's *Sämliche Werke* in *The Monthly Review*, and he had learned from Baron Johann Kaspar Riesbeck's *Travels Through Germany* that the German poet and novelist was "without doubt the first of all German writers."⁸ The frequent repetition of Wieland's praises may have led Brown to endow his characters with relationship to this family. Possibly, too, Brown read Count Friedrich Leopold Stolberg's *Travels Through Germany* (1796-7). The sweetheart of Pleyel is Baroness Theresa de Stolberg, whose family name is associated with the Göttingen Hainbund. The Wielands and Pleyel rehearse a German verse tragedy, and Clara sings a ballad of a German cavalier who fell at the siege of Nice under Godfrey of Bouillon. The geographical details of the family estates might have been gathered in any gazetteer. Yet the substance of the novel is such as to suggest that Brown had drawn deep draughts at the well of German literary information. Since there is no evidence that Brown learned to read the German language, his dependence upon English sources seems unmistakable; it is necessary, therefore, to refer to materials in translation to gauge the Germanic quality of the first American to use the new knowledge of Germany for creative purposes.

⁶ David Lee Clark, *Charles Brockden Brown: A Critical Biography* (New York, [1923]), p. 21. This is a 49-page abstract of a Columbia University dissertation, the complete MS of which is not deposited in the University. Many of the author's statements cannot be verified.

⁷ MS letter of D. L. Clark to H. R. Warfel (Austin, Texas, October 10, 1939).

⁸ London, 1787, II, 208.

By the 1790's translators made foreign novels available so promptly that it is difficult to separate the German and the English into distinct types. Each borrowed from the other, so that tales of sentiment, of Gothic terror, of history, of adventure, and of purpose seem to differ only in national backgrounds. Yet a subtle force arising from the Enlightenment gave emphasis in Germany to a more thorough psychological investigation of characters, largely for the purpose of combatting superstitious ideas, and therefore also to a more frequently demonstrated rationalism. Dr. Christine Touaillon's *Der Deutsche Frauenroman des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Wien u. Leipzig, 1919) makes clear that the lady novelists partook of the spirit of the times in giving answers to the new questions. Like the men they rejected the papacy, traced the operation of universal laws in specific incidents, fought against supernaturalism and superstition, and asserted the importance of following the guide of Reason. The Germans tended to support monarchy, partly because of Frederick the Great's achievement in the Seven Years' War, whereas the British, especially Holcroft and Bage, adopted the leveling ideas of Rousseau as they had been put into practice in the United States of America.

Brown's emphasis upon a reasoned approach to life is most clearly found in *Ormond, or the Secret Witness*, wherein Constantia in taking thought achieves a "rational estimate" before each act. *Wieland* teaches the importance of avoiding superstition. *Edgar Huntly* demonstrates the folly of unconsidered, rash attempts to do good. *Arthur Mervyn* emphasizes the necessity for subduing unreasoning terror in the presence of pestilence, as well as expressing advanced ideas in respect to punishment for crime, woman's place in society, and marriage. Brown, a child of the Enlightenment, tested in fiction contemporary liberal thoughts. Many of these ideas might have come from Rousseau, Godwin, Mary Wollstonecroft, Bage, and Holcroft, as well as from Brown's Quaker heritage, but it must be noted that late eighteenth-century German fiction harbored much social thinking on the subjects of religion, women's rights, and the application of Reason to action.

Very clear instances of Brown's closeness to German rationalist fiction appear in the characterizations of Ludloe in "Carwin the Biloquist" and of Ormond. Both are members of secret societies; both "had met with schemers and reasoners who aimed at the new-modeling of the world, and the subversion of all that has hitherto been conceived elementary and fundamental in the constitution of man and of government."⁹ Many secret societies were founded in

⁹ Marchand, ed., *Ormond*, pp. 208-9.

Germany during the latter half of the eighteenth century at the courts, in the universities, and among the cultured middle class. Women formed auxiliaries or separate societies. Princes protected such groups, statesmen thus maintained their positions, and charlatans gained amazing popular power. Most famous was the Society of the Illuminati, feared then as Communists are now. It has been assumed by earlier scholars that Brown knew about this dangerous organization only through John Robinson's *Proofs of a Conspiracy* (1795), but, as we have already noted, many German novels reflected the ideas, schemes, activities, and symbolism of these Bunds.¹⁰ *Herman of Unna*, for example, told of "a hundred thousand individuals held together by an invisible chain, known to each other, but indistinguishable to the rest of the world, whose sittings were covered with the most impenetrable secrecy; whose decrees were arbitrary and despotical, and were executed by assassins whose steel seldom failed to reach the heart of the unfortunate victim."¹¹ Joined to the preface of *Hermann of Unna* is an "Essay on the Secret Tribunal and Its Judges" from *The Miscellaneous Works of Baron Bock*.¹² The fact that *Ormond* was translated in 1802 by Fr. von Oertel, the translator of Matthew G. Lewis's *The Monk*, suggests how clearly a German publisher recognized the Germanic quality of this novel.^{12a}

Another rationalistic German novel, Cajetan Tschink's *Geisterseher*, translated in 1795 by Peter Will as *The Victim of Magical Delusion*, doubtless supplied Brown with the theme for *Wieland, or the Transformation*. Tschink's novel, frankly an imitation of Schiller's *Der Geisterseher*, has not been found in the United States in its German form. *The Critical Review*¹³ refers to a German original; Dr. Thalmann¹⁴ quotes from the German version; and Professor Bayard Quincy Morgan¹⁵ accepts the work as authentically German. In *The New York Weekly Magazine*, where Brown had found the

¹⁰ See for a partial list Marianne Thalmann's *Der Trivialroman des 18. Jahrhunderts und der romantische Roman: Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Geheimbundmystik* (Berlin, 1923), pp. 71-76.

¹¹ *Hermann of Unna* (London, 1794), I, v-vi. This translation incorrectly gives the author as Professor Carl Gottlob Cramer.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, ix-xix.

^{12a} Miss Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 72, includes this volume in her bibliography of the Lincke Collection, University of Chicago; an interlibrary loan request brought the answer that the collection is not catalogued and that this particular volume could not be discovered. Miss Murphy indicates that the book was ascribed to William Godwin by the translator.

¹³ September, 1795; ser. II, Vol. XV, pp. 63-64.

¹⁴ *Der Trivialroman*, pp. 10n, 12n, 14n, etc.

¹⁵ *A Critical Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation, 1481-1927, with Supplement*, second edition (Stanford University, 1938), p. 489.

central incident of *Wieland*, the murder by a fanatic of his entire family, there ran as a serial in Volume I, 1795-1796, Schiller's *The Ghostseer*, and in Volume II, 1796-1797, Tschink's *The Victim of Magical Delusion*. Under the circumstances there seems to be no doubt but that Brown was familiar with the magazine and with these two German novels.

In 1900 Professor Wilkens¹⁶ suggested that Brown relied upon *The Ghostseer* for part of *Wieland*. Ten years later Walter Just insisted that Brown took the whole plan of *Wieland* from Schiller's novel: "Der Plan ist im groszen und ganzen derselbe."¹⁷ Just supports this claim by pointing out that secret efforts by an unknown person (The Arminian—Carwin) are directed against a young man (Prinz von ***—Theodore Wieland), and by stressing the parallel between the Arminian's and Carwin's foretelling the death of a beloved one. The fact that both the Prinz and Wieland possessed religious manias may be more to the point, although it must be remembered that the whole idea of religious fanaticism leading to murder was derived from the incident reported in *The New York Weekly Magazine*. There is no doubt in my mind that Brown read Schiller's *The Ghostseer*, because he read every available novel. But I can find no reason to believe that *Wieland* was influenced by it.

The Victim of Magical Delusion, where I think Brown found the theme underlying *Wieland*, recounts the experiences of Miguel, the only son of a Grandee of Estramadura, Portugal, who at the age of twenty-three comes under the power of *Unknown*, an Irishman, who, after exploits in various parts of the world, now is engaged in fomenting a revolution to re-establish the banished Portuguese king. To win Miguel to his cause by creating an impression of supernatural power, the Unknown performs many astonishing feats; these Miguel's aged tutor explains, but the young man retains faith in the powerful Unknown. These tricks include sudden appearances and disappearances, the use of mirrors and lights to simulate the return of ghosts to earth, protean character disguises, and in an old castle the moving of walls, the use of elevators, the transmission of voices through tubes. To the end Miguel remains tied to the stranger, so that his part in the revolution is rewarded with a sentence of death. The discussions between the tutor and Miguel on the possibility of supernatural manifestations always result in the advice: "The senses can easily be imposed upon; reason,

¹⁶ *Early Influence of German Literature in America*, p. 37.

¹⁷ *Die romantische Bewegung in der amerikanischen Literatur* (Weimar, 1910), p. 27.

however, is infallible";¹⁸ and "Never yield to the seducing delusion of your senses and imagination."¹⁹ The novel was written, as the translator's preface and appendix reiterate, to assist young enthusiasts to escape from the snares laid by superstition; never lost sight of in three volumes of hair-raising episodes is the main point: "A noble young man, adorned with the most excellent genius, and the best of hearts, suffered himself to be seduced to a crime for which he atoned with his life."²⁰

Brown's *Wieland* is composed of different stuff from *The Victim of Magical Delusion*. Brown aimed at "the illustration of some important branches of the moral constitution of man."²¹ That is, he set out to discuss the probability of supernatural manifestations to humans and the psychological aberrations by which men become deluded in the belief of having heard God's voice. Brown's comments on these topics form many interesting pages of the novel. *Wieland* traces the steps by which a religious fanatic, supposedly at the command of God, murders his wife and four children. Brown's tragic intensity, coupled with amazing insight into mental states, lifts the dramatically unified *Wieland* far above the tawdry discursiveness of *The Victim of Magical Delusion*. Yet it is not farfetched to assert that Brown found in this volume the initial hint for his own work.

Both novels represent victims of delusion. Both victims (Wieland—Miguel) have been played upon by men (Carwin—The Unknown) possessing certain powers seemingly supernatural. Both men discuss with their victims the probability of supernatural manifestations, and both deny that human beings can overgo nature. In *Wieland* the enthusiastic Theodore immediately jumps to the conclusion that the strange voice is of supernatural origin.²² Clara, withholding belief a few days, concludes: "I was impressed with the belief of mysterious, but not of malignant agency."²³ "Pleyel did not scruple to regard the whole as a deception of the senses,"²⁴ but after he was hoodwinked by Carwin into a belief in Clara's unchastity, he declared: "I fear I have been precipitate and unjust. My senses must have been the victims of some inexplicable and

¹⁸ Cajetan Tschink, *The Victim of Magical Delusion; or, The Mystery of the Revolution of P—I: A Magico-political Tale*, tr. P. Will, 3 Vols. (London, 1795), I, 78.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 85.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 323.

²¹ Fred Lewis Pattee, ed., *Wieland* (New York, [1926]), p. 3.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

momentary phrenzy."²⁵ One aim of Brown in *Wieland*, therefore, is to demonstrate that evidence gained through one sense is not trustworthy. "The will," says Brown, "is the tool of the understanding, which must fashion its conclusions on the notices of sense. If the senses be depraved it is impossible to calculate the evils that may flow from the consequent deductions of the understanding."²⁶ Theodore Wieland's senses are "depraved" by religious mania; Clara's by terror, and Pleyel's by disgust. A tragic event alone seems capable of returning their balance; the speedy denouement after the murders quickly brings the moral of the novel: "This scene of havock was produced by an illusion of the senses."²⁷ "If I erred," said Wieland, "it was not my judgment that deceived me, but my senses."²⁸ Carwin at the end plans to write an autobiography "as a lesson to mankind on the evils of credulity on the one hand, and of imposture on the other."²⁹ Carwin says to Theodore: "Man of errors! cease to cherish thy delusion: not heaven or hell, but thy senses have misled thee to commit these acts. Shake off thy frenzy, and ascend into rational and human. Be lunatic no longer."³⁰ The juxtaposition of these sentences enforces the conclusion that Brown wrote *Wieland*, among other reasons, to approve the wisdom of a rationalistic approach to seemingly inexplicable or supernatural phenomena.

In his anxiety to demonstrate his obedience to God, Theodore too readily assumed that the strange voices were of celestial origin. He refused to listen to Pleyel's qualifying opinions and Carwin's explanation of ventriloquial phenomena in general and of the four instances at that time affecting the Wieland circle.³¹ Theodore also failed to take into consideration the common human experience in respect to man's moral duty and the common opinion of God's attributes. By rejecting counsel from others, by persisting in drawing untenable conclusions from sounds heard in the dark, and by failing to investigate the clue that a natural cause might explain the appearance of the voices, Theodore violated the fundamental rules of rational procedure. As a result he was transformed from a happy man to a man of sorrows, from a man of intellectual balance to a maniac.

How close Brown was to the thoughts of a translator, if not the author, of *The Victim of Magical Delusion*, may be seen from this

²⁵ Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

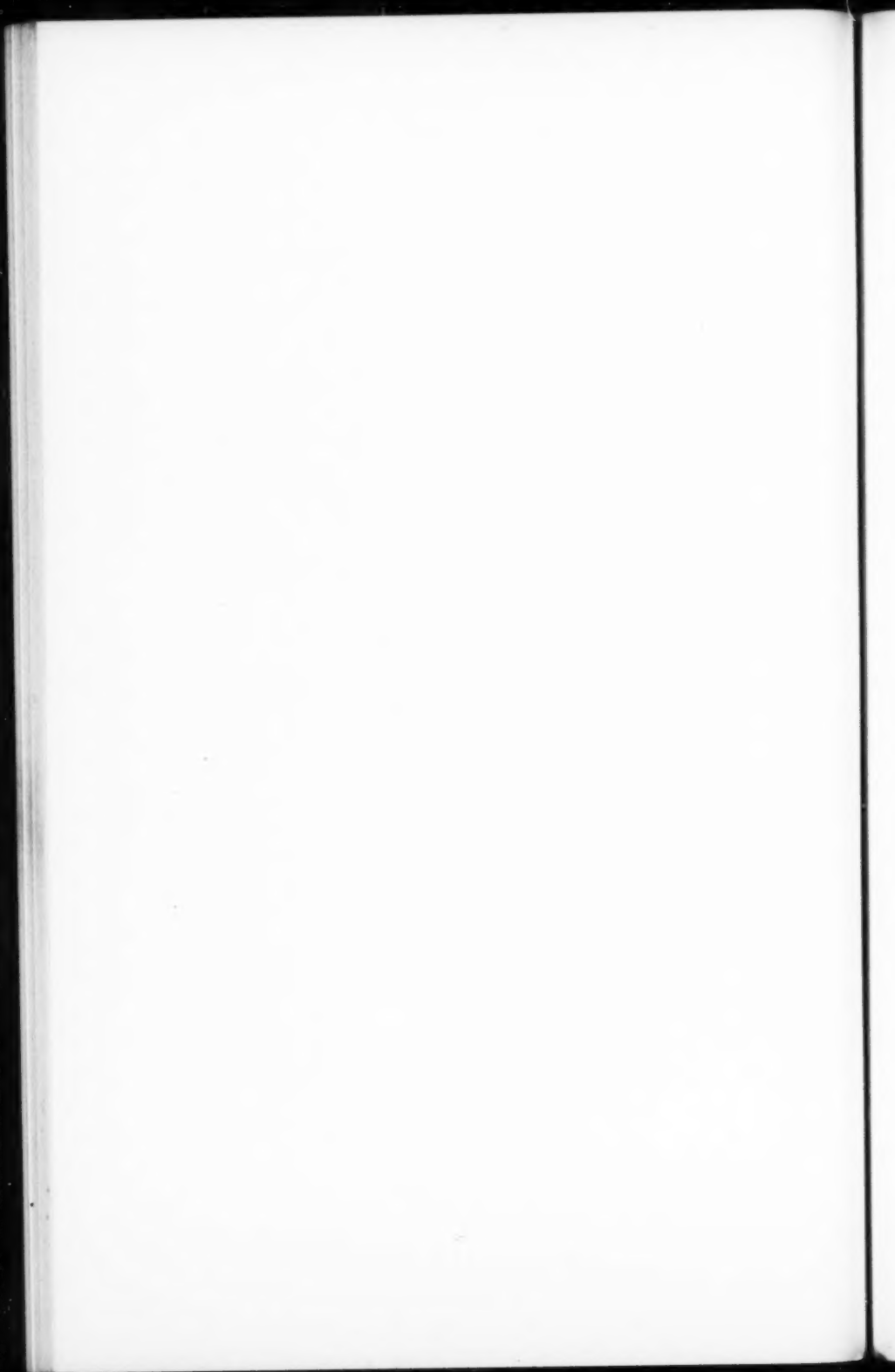
³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

portion of the preface, an article Brown might have lifted bodily into his own novel:

The sources from which we derive the knowledge of what is good and true, originate from Sensation, Experience, Reflection, Reasoning, and from the genuine accounts we receive of the observations and the experience of others; and we cannot miss the road leading to the Sanctuary of Truth, if we make a proper use of *all* these different Sources of Knowledge. If we, however, conceive an exclusive attachment to *one* of them, and for instance, confine ourselves merely to sensation and experience, if we desire to *see* and to *feel* those things which cannot be perceived by the senses, but are known to us only through the medium of our understanding; if we, for example, are not satisfied with what the contemplation of nature, and the gospel teach us of God, but desire to have an immediate, and physical communion with the invisible; we then cannot avoid the deviations of fanaticism, and are easily led to confound our *feelings* and *ideas* with external effects; the effects of our soul with effects produced by superior beings; we believe that we see, hear, and perceive what exists no where but in the imagination; we stray from ourselves and from the objects around us, to a world of ideas which is the workmanship of our fancy, and are misled by the vivacity and strength of our feelings, and mistake for *reality*, what is merely *ideal*. Thus we dream while we are awake, and sooner or later, find ourselves woefully deceived. All pretended apparitions, every imaginary communication with superior beings, the belief in witches, sorcerers, and in the secret power of magical spells, owe their existence to this species of fanaticism. . . .²²

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²² *The Victim of Magical Delusion*, I, i-iv.



MUTE INGLORIOUS JOHN MILTONS

By J. MILTON FRENCH

"The attribution of kinship on no grounds beyond identity of surname has always been a journalistic vice."

—Perceval Lucas¹

When Thomas Gray surveyed the great realms of the dead and surmised that beneath English soil there might lie many a mute inglorious Milton, he probably never remotely realized how near the literal truth his metaphor approached. What he meant as a figure of speech is, however, abundantly justified as a plain statement, for the author of *Paradise Lost* was but one of many seventeenth-century bearers of that illustrious name. In fact, one could easily find enough John Miltons to provide, if desired, a separate author for each of his publications and even to have some left over. And this would be without any attempt to draw in the numerous "J.M.'s" who tempt bibliographically minded scholars.

The result of this inquiry is to render almost ludicrous the temerity and cocksureness of some former biographers and critics of Milton. In the early prairie days of criticism it was customary to assign to the poet any book having even so remote a provocation as the mere initials "J.M." Thus there have been fathered on him *The Sixfold Politician*, *The Astrologaster*, numerous signatures, any number of leases and other transactions, and in fact almost every book or anecdote of uncertain provenance between 1600 and 1700. Did some unknown author write a book about marriage? It must have been Milton. Does a book turn up with the initials J.M. on the flyleaf? It must have come from Milton's library. Is there a sheaf of commendatory verses in some obscure book signed John Meltonne? Indubitably a production of the poet. The feeling seemed to prevail that ticketing uncertain verses was a branch of polar exploration, in which the first comer could claim ownership and bestow names in behalf of his sovereign as he pleased.

But in these present more enlightened days it behooves us to move with greater circumspection. The days of Columbus and the spacious days of the great Elizabeth are gone. Discovery has given way to a method which approaches somewhat more closely to that of science. It is time to consolidate our advances and bring the outlying realms under the rule of reason. With this goal in mind we should do well to re-examine the status of the various John Miltons of the poet's time and make a census of innocent pretenders to his poetic

¹ *Notes and Queries*, XI, vii (1913), 22.

throne. The purpose of this paper, then, is to offer at least a beginning. Completeness it cannot pretend to—a fact for which the reader will certainly feel profoundly thankful. That other homonymous individuals may have died unwept and unhonored is no doubt a pity; but that they died unsung may not be an unmixed grief.

The biographical data which follow have been gathered in somewhat desultory fashion over a period of several years. They come from many widely separated sources and cover a multitude of occupations, localities, social stations, domestic environments, religions, politics, and degrees of virtue and vice. The only requirement for admission to this gallery is that the holder of the name should have lived approximately within the lifetime of his great exemplar. One or two from slightly earlier or later times have been admitted, but very few. For the most part they appear between 1608 and 1674. The order of arrangement has been difficult to decide upon, and various others might have been as reasonable as this. But some system had to be adopted, and the one finally chosen will serve well enough as the steelwork on which to erect our cognominal skyscraper. This study, then, admittedly the reverse of the well-known quip, is a process of knowing less and less about more and more.

It should be firmly emphasized at once that the spelling of the name is utterly without significance. It appears in manifold forms: Milton, Millton, Melton, Meltonne, Melltonne, Mylton, Myltoun, and other variations. No differentiation of identity on the basis of spelling is possible. I shall hereafter ordinarily spell it in the most familiar way, Milton. No seventeenth century holder of the name would even have understood the point of distinguishing others by their spelling of the name, and though the poet customarily signed himself Milton, other people spelled his name with considerable liberty. Renaissance serene indifference to the form of its cognomens is not the least awesome phase of its spacious days. If Milton appears under fewer guises than Shakespeare, it is simply because the possible combinations of letters involved are more limited.

To begin towards the upper rung of the social ladder and work down, as is most seemly, we may first introduce a lord mayor of London. I am embarrassed not to be able to offer any further information about this gentleman, but even the date of his mayoralty remains shrouded in mystery. A John Milton simply was an incumbent of this office and there's an end on't.²

Only slightly less illustrious is John Milton, secretary and keeper of the king's signet. By privy seal of April 12 and May 23, 1632,

² British Museum Stowe MS 703, quoted in *The Genealogist*, N.S. XXI (1905), 267.

he was appointed to this office before the president and council in the North.³

It is entirely possible that this candidate may have been identical with Sir John Milton (or Melton), who is the subject of the fairly full memoir in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. According to that article, Sir John read law, was knighted in 1632, traded in saltpeter and coal, was appointed secretary of the council in the North in 1625, represented Newcastle-upon-Tyne in Parliament in 1640, wrote *The Sixfold Politician* in 1609 and *The Astrologaster* in 1620, and died in 1640. Believing that the author of his biography, Dr. A. F. Pollard, erred on the side of universal benevolence in accepting dubious facts for his subject, I feel a trifle skeptical over fathering all of these events on the same person. Even so, his most spectacular achievement has been omitted—marrying a wife who presented him with five children within twelve months (twins and triplets)! No wonder she died on the second occasion! It is certain, however, that John Milton of the city of York, knight, one of the king's council in the North and its secretary, was admitted to Gray's Inn on April 25, 1634, for a note to that effect occurs in its registers.⁴ It is also clear that Sir John Milton of York was the defendant in a bill brought by Nicholas Cole in 1633,⁵ and that he and Dame Margaret Milton were sued by one Crane in 1639.⁶ A Milton, knight, was sued by one Prior in the reign of Charles I.⁷ These are probably all the same person, but even so cautious a statement savors of rashness, and I make it subject to correction.

It might be mentioned here that there was at least one other and later John Milton of York (assuming now that the date of Sir John's death as given by the *D.N.B.* is correct). On May 8, 1676, Anne Stringer of Sharlston, Yorkshire, filed a complaint in Chancery over certain bonds which she and her brother John Milton had given on the occasion of the marriage of her daughter to Charles Thimelby in 1671.⁸ Later, she complained, he had induced her to give him power of attorney over these bonds and had then turned around and sued her at common law on them. Whether this John was a son of the previous one, or more distantly (if at all) related, does not appear.

³ *The Forty-Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, appendix, p. 452.

⁴ Joseph Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889* (London, 1889), p. 204.

⁵ Public Record Office, C8/43/30.

⁶ C2 Ch I/C83/34; C24/641-642.

⁷ C2 Ch I/P32/12.

⁸ C8/284/178; C10/131/85.

With Captain (or Major) John Milton we arrive in the midst of the vital events of the century. Sotheby⁹ mentions him and gives two specimens of his signature. Joseph Hunter¹⁰ records an act of council of February 9, 1645/6, authorizing the payment to him of £259 for services rendered from May 13, 1644, to November 10, 1645.

More dramatic perhaps is the career of John Milton styled "Junior," who was indicted before the House of Commons and King's Bench for high treason. Found guilty of a plot against the Parliament, he and his numerous associates were ordered apprehended and incarcerated on October 1, 1647; but with admirable foresight they had already disappeared.¹¹

An amusing book entitled *The Astrologaster* (1620) has been variously ascribed to Milton the scrivener (father of the poet), to Sir John of York, and to others. Professor Pollard assumes it is by him of York, though without offering any evidence. If the reason is not more cogent than that for fathering on him *The Sixfold Politician* (1609), it deserves re-examination, to say the least; since the proof for that book is simply that it could not have come from the pen of the poet's father because "a pun in the first line would lose its point if the author's name were Milton, not Melton"! Considering the irresponsible spelling of surnames in that period, one may question the validity of the e-i criterion of identification; and as for the assumption that if not by the scrivener it *must* be by the Yorkshire knight, the less said the better. One gathers that this harassed individual served as a convenient skeleton for biographical facts which could not safely be hung on the poet. He is a hangover from the good old days when two or three John Miltons were considered all that the century could decently afford.

It is, of course, perfectly possible that a knight of some political and social standing could have written a rough-and-tumble book like *The Astrologaster*, but one hesitates to accept the attribution. This book, for the edification of those who have not happened to see it, is a brisk, slangy exposure of the tricks and frauds of astrologers. The author plays the role of a country bumpkin seeking supernatural divination to aid in recovering a lost gold chain. The pompous astrologer whom he consults, taken in by his apparent simplicity, delivers a long and high-sounding tirade on the history and praise of his mystery, pretends to see everything plainly in his magic globe, and collects his fee. Having allowed the quack to hang himself with his own rope, the pretended seeker throws off his mask,

⁹ *Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of John Milton* (London, 1861), p. 134 and plate XVII.

¹⁰ Add. MS 24, 501, f. 45.

¹¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, V, 317, 323.

returns a stinging denunciation of his villainous behavior, supported by a number of anecdotes about other members of the tribe, and turns the frightened crook over to the police. Filled with picturesque details of the astrologer's house and equipment, and with the ways of rogues in London, as well as with tags of popular astronomy, geography, philosophy, and other real or counterfeit science, the book is exactly in the vein of the coney-catching pamphlets of Greene and Dekker. The style is vivid but slangy; not such as might be expected from the secretary of the king's council in the North, unless he turned a very sharp corner in the few intervening years.

It is very likely that the author of *The Astrologaster* was also the author of some verses in William Fennor the rhymester's book, *Fennor's Descriptions* (1616). The poetry is of no merit, and the association with Fennor, who was about in John Taylor the Water Poet's class in literature, lends color to the identity of the two writers. Of Sir John of York there is still no particular evidence.

The Sixfold Politician (1609) once more belongs to the same general category. The only indication of authorship is the initials I.M. appended to the address to the reader, and the notorious pun mentioned above, which occurs in verses to the author signed I.S. "Thy tun (deare friend) of wit & hony nows brok up," coyly remarks this impulsive friend in language more enthusiastic than brilliant; and against this line in the British Museum copy¹² some helpful soul has elucidated in pencil, "Mel ton." Patching together the I.M. and the darkly mysterious tun of honey, we arrive somewhat dubiously at John Mel-ton as the author. The substance of the book is an attack on contemporary politicians, managed in much the same style as *The Astrologaster*. It is very easy to believe that the same man wrote both of these realistic now-it-can-be-told pamphlets.

The next focus for our spotlight is John Milton the cooper, who has often been mentioned by biographers and commentators. His name occurs as of that trade in a list of London citizens in 1651.¹³ The editor of the published edition of the list identified this John Milton as of St. Dunstan's in the East, captain and major of the trained bands. He supports his assertion by some references, but one again wishes further evidence.¹⁴ Hamilton (see below) inclines to equate him with a manufacturer of saltpeter, but not with the captain or the knight from the North. I can now also add a

¹² Call number: 1137.e.l.

¹³ Harl. MS 4778, published as *London Citizens in 1651*, ed. J. C. Whitebrook (London, 1910), p. 4. See also *Notes and Queries*, XI, i (1910), 244; *ibid.*, XI, iv (1911), 17; *The Genealogist*, N.S. XXVI (1910), 190.

¹⁴ He gives a reference to T. C. Crippen, *Congregational Historical Society Transactions*, IV, no. 5.

few further facts about him which though not of great importance will help a bit to fill out the picture.

In 1665 one James Walker of St. Olave's, Southwark, keeper of a brewhouse, brought suit against John Milton, cooper, for failure to pay his just debts; and his bill furnishes us with some interesting information. In the first place, this John Milton, cooper, was the son of another John Milton, also cooper, of St. Botolph's without Aldersgate, now deceased, and the two Miltons formerly worked together in partnership. What is more scandalous to all worshipers of the Puritan poet, these two stalwart coopers managed within a few years to dispose of no less than 265½ barrels of six-shilling beer from Walker's warehouse! Worse still, they refused to pay for the precious beverage. So Walker mournfully turned to that last resort of broken hearts and empty pocketbooks, the court of Chancery, and haled the surviving offender into court.¹⁵ The latter also (or his father) was defendant in a suit a generation earlier.¹⁶ If our Milton was a heroic poet, his namesakes were heroic disposers of beer.

Was it one of the Miltons already mentioned, or another, who presented a petition to the Earl of Arundel and the privy council in 1628, begging to be released from unjust imprisonment?^{16a} It could hardly be Sir John of the North, though one might be tempted to think of him; for whereas Pollard says he took a wife in 1635, this Milton was already married and the father of several children in 1628. There is little in the petition to help us in identifying him with any of the others on our list.

Two John Miltons, in addition to Sir John of York, seem to have been lawyers. One signed an indenture as John Milton of the Middle Temple, together with Anthony Libb and Ellis Goodwin, in 1659.¹⁷ In 1663 he reconveyed the property to Sir Edward Nicholas.^{17a} It might conceivably be the same man, though I doubt it, who was called to the bar in the Inner Temple in 1663.¹⁸ The dates of the two fit easily, but that the two were of different Temples makes us hesitate to identify them. A John Milton of the Temple had also been married at St. Olave's, Old Jewry, in 1613.¹⁹ This could be Sir John of York, but again the spectre of the terrifyingly prolific marriage of 1635 rises to haunt us.

¹⁵ C10/476/328.

¹⁶ C2 Ch I/G33/56.

^{16a} State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1628, CXXIV, no. 36, quoted in W. D. Hamilton, *Original Papers Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Milton* (London, 1859), pp. 132-4.

¹⁷ *Athenaeum*, 1881, I, 560.

^{17a} *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, ed. F. A. Inderwick (London, 1901), III, 21.

¹⁹ *Notes and Queries*, II, xii (1861), 473.

Next, passing quietly over a perfectly blank John Milton of whom I know only that he is mentioned in the Augmentation Office records in connection with a lease or a pension,²⁰ and another who was haled in as a witness about the conduct of Colonel Popham's soldiers at Shefford in 1649 or 1656,²¹ we may pass in rapid review the more plebeian squad of tradesmen and people known solely by their occupations. John the cooper belongs here, but has been elevated to a superior rank by virtue of his bibulous capacity. We may simply check a baker of the name whose wife Joane made her will in 1593,²² but who himself for aught we know lived indefinitely. Another was a blacksmith of Stansted, Essex, whose only claim to fame is having made a will in 1655.²³ Still another (perhaps Sir John of York) was a manufacturer of saltpeter.²⁴

Then we may pass to a long list of John Miltons whom for lack of a better method we may examine by counties. Their chief identification being by place of residence, and there being little personal or interesting in what we know of them, we may take them simply by geographical occurrence.

Of the London branch, one achieves a slight notoriety by imitating Christopher Marlowe in a spectacular death. On March 4, 1652/3, he was assaulted (or so it was stated later) by one Richard Clavell in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate (the poet's own parish, it may be noted) and given a "mortal bruise" on the right knee, of which he died the following June 10 in the same parish, which was evidently his home as well as that of Clavell. The coroner's inquest taken on June 11 gave a verdict against Clavell, who was indicted and tried. To the possible disappointment of Milton fans, the jury found Clavell not guilty.²⁵ It would seem that John was not altogether without blame in this little affair. This surmise is somewhat strengthened by a previous episode, in which one of the same name, though here labeled as of St. Clement Danes, was obliged in 1606 to file a recognizance before William Harrison, J. P., in the sum of twenty pounds to keep the peace. What his disturbance had been we are not told, but not only he himself but several of his friends were obliged to offer securities for his appearance at the next general session of the peace and for his good behavior

²⁰ *The Forty-Ninth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, appendix, p. 302. There is no indication here of date or other details.

²¹ Composition Papers, 1/84/337, quoted in Hamilton, *Original Papers*, p. 74.

²² Somerset House, 75 Nevell.

²³ 437 Aylett.

²⁴ Hamilton, *Original Papers*, pp. 73, 132.

²⁵ *Middlesex County Records*, ed. J. C. Jeaffreson, III (London, 1888), 214, 289.

in the meantime.²⁶ It was probably the same man who appeared in the records about a year later in connection with a Catholic purge. When Oswald Needham was indicted for performing mass and thirty others for being present, it was stated that "infertur hoc recordu' per Johannem Melton et soc' suos etc." (this record is brought in by John Melton and his associates).²⁷ Alternatively this might be the lawyer who was married in 1613.

Still another John Milton was in 1638 a householder in Port Lane, St. Dunstan's in the East, holding lands for which the yearly rental was twenty-five pounds.²⁸ Another of Tottenham High Cross procured a grant of arms in 1626.²⁹ In him we meet a striking coincidence which to the careless biographer would clinch his identification with the poet: this Milton was John of London, husband of Elizabeth, and son of John. What better proof of identity with the great namesake could be asked? Yet we shall soon find a still different Milton who went this man one better by adding a son John. On the other hand, the present incumbent counters by presenting a grandfather John (who was of Ottery St. Mary in Devonshire) and twins who died with their mother in childhood. As we remember that other "late espoused saint" whose fate was similar and whose ghost appeared to the poet "washed from spot of child-bed taint," we suffer from the uneasy suspicion that the seventeenth century was conspiring to befog and bedevil the twentieth!

St. Martin's in the Fields also provides us a representative. In 1629, in consideration of £780 paid them, Sir Peter Heyman and his son Henry of Selling, Kent, acquitted to this John Milton property in Edmonton and Tottenham, Middlesex.³⁰ Early in 1631 he continued negotiations begun in 1629 with John Boteler of Chelver Cobham, Kent, relating to the manor of Chelver Cobham.³¹ I should hesitate to take oath that this John is not the one of Tottenham mentioned in the previous paragraph, but in default of concrete evidence it behooves us to walk warily and offer the cautious verdict, "Not proved."

Leaving the city of London, we may now embark on a tour of the provinces. Strictly speaking, perhaps, we should follow the

²⁶ Jeaffreson, *op. cit.*, II (1887), p. 23.

²⁷ D. H. Bowler, *London Sessions Records, 1605-1685* (Catholic Record Society, vol. XXXIV, 1934), p. 31.

²⁸ *Notes and Queries*, III, i (1862), 146.

²⁹ Harl. MS 1105, quoted in *The Genealogist*, N.S. XXI (1905), 267; *Middlesex Pedigrees* (Publications of the Harleian Society, vol. LXV, 1914), p. 113. Probably a suit of the time of Charles I, C2 Ch I/M81/79, pertains to this Milton.

³⁰ C54/2804/26.

³¹ C54/2831/4.

regular circuits of judges or of theatrical troupes. But since this is a purely bibliographical tour, we may, with apologies to any potentially ruffled souls, follow a still more ancient guide—the alphabet.

Our first stop, then, which is but a one-night stand, is Berkshire. The indefatigable Joseph Hunter discovered a Milton item here, which like many other of his finds, has never been properly recognized because his peculiarly devilish handwriting transmuted every word he touched into what might pass for cave-dwellers' hieroglyphics. But as nearly as I can decipher his code, a list of persons in Berkshire in 1662, from whom there remained no longer any hope of collecting the tax already levied, included among others the name of John Milton.³² I offer this reading humbly and subject to correction: some little search for the original Exchequer records in the Public Record Office has proved barren. But it seems certain (for Hunter, though illegible, was trustworthy) that a John Milton of Berkshire was somehow in the minds of the financial authorities in 14 Charles II. The conflict weighed lightly on his shoulders, for he did not die for another thirty odd years. At least, administration of the estate of a John Milton of Lawrence Waltham was granted in 1694 in the Archdeaconry Court of Berkshire.³³ This may be one with the John Milton of Maidenhead who was married in 1661 at East Hampstead, Berkshire,³⁴ and again he may have been a son of Christopher Milton, for Perceval Lucas found a good many years ago that a John Milton, gentleman, was buried on December 29, 1669, at St. Nicholas, Ipswich.³⁵ From the coincidence of the dwellings Lucas assumed that this John was the son of Christopher.

Moving on to Buckinghamshire, one wonders whether a distant relative of the poet's may be concerned. In 1633, while the latter was meditating an eternity of poetic fame at Horton, a namesake was born at Great Marlow, only a step away. This was John, son of Ralph and Julia, baptized on August 5, 1633, just when Milton was deep in English history and *Comus*.³⁶ Ralph died in May, 1670, just too early to be present at the wedding of his famously named son, who married Ann East in December of the same year. Mark Noble, who secured these data from the church registers, offered the curiously irrelevant as well as entirely wrong observation that "the poet was at Great Marlow, near Horton, in 1669."

³² Add. MS 24,501, f. 10.

³³ Administrations, Bond 62, Act Books, III, 1.

³⁴ *Notes and Queries*, XI, vii (1913), 146.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2.

³⁶ Mark Noble, in *The Monthly Mirror*, VI (1809), 203-4.

Cheshire, which furnished the poet a wife, provided him also three namesakes: one of Clive, yeoman, who died in 1612; another of Church Shocklach, who died in 1637; and a third, also of Church Shocklach, who died in 1684.³⁷

In John Milton of Whitstone, Cornwall, may some time be discovered the answer to the puzzling question of the poet's supposed business dealing with his patriarchal creditor Hartop. Milton students are familiar with the elusive story of Jonathan Hartop, who at the age of 150 loved to recall how he had lent fifty pounds to the poet, who angrily refused, after the Restoration, to cancel the debt, but insisted on paying it to the last farthing.³⁸ Now John Milton of Cornwall brought suit about 1633 against Alexander Milton and the widow Hartopp of Devonshire on a bond which John claimed to have given for her some time earlier.³⁹ That John was not unknown at the bar of Chancery appears from documents in another suit against one Dennis, also during the reign of Charles I.⁴⁰ Whether the Milton-Hartop association is a mere coincidence, whether Hartop was too decrepit to remember which Milton he had dealt with, or whether later well-meaning investigators allowed their flair for news to dim their scholarly accuracy are questions still to be looked into.

We now move on to the widow Hartop's county of Devonshire on the trail of further John Miltons, who may very likely be connected with the preceding one. Here we meet John Milton bringing a Chancery bill against one Corsells during the reign of Charles I.⁴¹ He may be one with the John Milton of Hurshai Witham P'flowre, who had sued one Yea during the previous reign.⁴² Either of these, or a different man, may have been the John Milton of Morebath whose will was proved in 1614,⁴³ or the John Milton, husbandman, whose will was proved in 1608.⁴⁴ And who was the John Milton who together with Alexander Milton was sued about a marriage contract in 1673?⁴⁵ Devonshire abounded with the poet's homonyms, offering us anywhere from two to five candidates.

In Gloucestershire we are not long detained. A John Milton, husbandman, of Trinley, died and left a will in 1616.⁴⁶ It must

³⁷ *An Index to the Wills and Inventories . . . at Chester, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society Publications*, II (1879), 136, and IV (1881), 154.

³⁸ *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, ed. H. J. Todd, I (London, 1826), 255; *Notes and Queries*, I, xii (1855), 205, 252.

³⁹ C2 Charles I/M56/26.

⁴⁰ C2 Ch I/M56/26; C2 Ch I/M62/43; C2 Ch I/M64/45.

⁴¹ C2 Ch I/M66/47.

⁴² C2 J I/M17/53.

⁴³ 106 Lawe.

⁴⁴ 63 Windebancke.

⁴⁵ C10/171/89.

⁴⁶ 26 Parker.

have been another John, therefore, to whom William Milton procured a license to alienate land in that county in 1623.⁴⁷

In Lincolnshire we meet a more interesting difficulty. From a suit of 1638 we learn of a John Milton, yeoman, who died about 1612, leaving issue John, Thomas, William, Elizabeth, and (posthumously) George. His wife Joane administered his estate and later, without having paid the children their proper portions, married Mark Chapman. This information comes out in a bill brought by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Ferdinando More and relict of John Milton (probably the son mentioned above), against Mark Chapman.⁴⁸ The case must have dragged on for a long time, for in 1642 Elizabeth Milton (probably daughter of the yeoman) was summoned for depositions.⁴⁹ The family table thus sketched bears a striking resemblance to the Tottenham household of 1634: John, husband of Elizabeth and son of John. But there are differences which prove that the two could not have been identical. Elizabeth of Tottenham was daughter of Francis Moore and widow of Sir Fernando Heborne; Elizabeth of Lincoln was daughter of Sir Ferdinando More. John of Lincoln is designated as a yeoman, a term unlikely to be applied to a city-dweller. Elizabeth of Tottenham died with twins in childbed, and only one surviving child (Elizabeth) appears in the pedigree of 1634, whereas in 1612 John of Lincoln left five children, with no mention of the unfortunate twins. The resemblances are tantalizing but do not quite warrant our putting the two families together. Fingerprints are still required. Incidentally, before leaving the present group, we may mention in passing a Chancery suit brought against a John Milton and his wife Elizabeth by Thomas Moore in 1626.⁵⁰ Which of the two branches is concerned here is dubious.

After this intriguing chase it seems an anticlimax to mention a John Milton of Boston, Lincolnshire, fellmonger, who was sued in 1671 by Thomas Milton over the estate of Humphrey Milton.⁵¹ He cannot well have been John, son of the foregoing yeoman and husband of the belligerent Elizabeth of 1638, for she was already in that year his relict. He may possibly have been a son or other relative—or equally well of no relation whatsoever.

It is a long jump to Merioneth, but here awaits us John Milton of Corwen, gentleman, late of London and hence perhaps the same as some one of our previous candidates. In 1623 he was

⁴⁷ C66/21 James I/25/23.

⁴⁸ C8/83/58.

⁴⁹ C21/M27/14.

⁵⁰ C8/61/11; C24/560-561.

⁵¹ C10/158/114.

defendant in a suit at common law brought by Evan Davyes (or David) in an argument over a debt of eighty-five pounds which Davyes had tried in vain to collect and which dated from 1613.⁵² Incidentally, it is a curious coincidence that Milton was represented on this occasion by an attorney whose name was Powell. The process must have been unsuccessful, for it seems to have been transferred to Chancery some time before 1625.⁵³ The outcome is not known, but we may console ourselves with the thought that since it is not *the* John Milton whose honor is at stake, we are sublimely indifferent to either the decision or even the ethics of the case.

Not far away in Pembrokeshire, a lease in the village of Milton was granted in 1626 to a John Milton. Though several references to it have come to light, few details are available except that the period of the lease was twenty-one years, and that both a farm and a mill were concerned.⁵⁴

Somersetshire offers rich hunting. Our first game comes by way of a Chancery suit brought by John Sydenham of Skilgate in 1631.⁵⁵ He tells how Richard Milton of Kings Brompton, husbandman, by his will of about 1619 left money in trust for his child then unborn, how his brother John Milton later contrived a loan of this money to Sydenham, and how John now threatens to sue the unfortunate Sydenham. The John Milton whose will was proved in 1656^{55a} may have been this same sly intriguer, for although he is here described as a yeoman whereas in one of the previous documents he appears as a husbandman, the distinction is not insuperable, and the fact that both were of Kings Brompton favors such an attempt at consolidation. On the other hand, the John Milton of Yeovil who brought in a Chancery bill against Francis Keymer in 1670 was of course a different man, since the preceding one had then been dead some fourteen years.⁵⁶ The latter case is however interesting in two respects. Noticing that the plaintiff is John, son of Christopher, we toy in fascination with the attempt to link them somehow with the poet's brother Christopher; but the speculation is purely chimerical, since Judge Christopher was at this period of Suffolk and not of Somersetshire, and his son John had died in 1669 (if John was his son). A second interesting facet of this

⁵² C.P. 40/2133/mem. 1141.

⁵³ C3/343/22.

⁵⁴ Edward Jones, *Index to Records called the Originalia*, I (London, 1793), sig Cccc^v; *The Forty-Third Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, appendix, p. 36; C66/2 Charles I/1/5.

⁵⁵ C8/89/187; C3/414/137.

^{55a} 437 Aylett.

⁵⁶ C5/59/37.

case is the juxtaposition of the names of Milton and Keymer, since the poet's father, in his capacity as scrivener and broker, arranged a loan of money to Matthew Keymer of Somersetshire, who proved to be a bad risk and left Milton to reimburse the distressed lender her fifty pounds. I suspect that the present Keymer is of the same family; and though the Miltons are of course different, there may have been enough tie of some sort between them to motivate the financial transaction.⁵⁷

A curiously similar instance of how history repeats itself may be pressed into service at this point, though not quite strictly justified by our self-imposed limits of chronology. In 1579 or thereabouts a John Milton brought action against one Clerke about property in Egham.⁵⁸ Some fifty years later Thomas Milton sued John Clarke,⁵⁹ and ten years later the feud still flourished.⁶⁰ Truly this was out-Jarndycing Dickens!

But Somersetshire has yet two more John Miltons for us. John of Cheddar was sued by Barbara Stapylton in 1656;⁶¹ John of Upton sued William Sandford in 1660.⁶² Altogether it was a highly Miltonic country.

Southampton gives us only one family, but a flourishing one, comprising at least three of the name who interest us. Through a Chancery suit of 1652 brought by Edward Smith there are presented to us John Milton, a child of eight years, nephew of the plaintiff; John, his father, husband of the intriguingly named Susan Fig (now both dead); and John, the grandfather, of Rotherwick. The bickering is as usual over property claimed by the plaintiff but held by the defendant.⁶³ The answer comes from the aged grandfather, who admits that he is an "illiterate man" and makes his mark. His wife Joane signs her name. Once again the names have run in threes.

Following in Judge Christopher Milton's footsteps to Suffolk, we discover that he must have found namesakes of his famous brother awaiting him. In 1626 John Milton married Sarah Gipson at Bury St. Edmunds, where Christopher was to spend a good deal of time.⁶⁴ Some forty years later, in 1669, a John Milton was buried in Ipswich.^{64a} The year is so close to the poet's death and the place

⁵⁷ J. Milton French, *Milton in Chancery* (New York, 1939), chapter 3.

⁵⁸ C21/M5/17.

⁵⁹ C3/368/25.

⁶⁰ C2/Ch 1/C55/56.

⁶¹ C7/325/17.

⁶² C8/316/95.

⁶³ C5/14/83.

⁶⁴ *Bury St. Edmunds: St. James Parish Registers: Marriages: 1562-1800* (Suffolk Green Books, no. 17, 1916), p. 28.

^{64a} *The Registers of St. Nicholas, Ipswich*, ed. E. Cookson (Parish Register Society, 1897), p. 154.

so close to his brother's home that one has to pinch himself to be sure he is not the victim of illusion. However, we have already seen that this particular man may possibly have been a son of the judge.⁶⁵ It may also have been the same John Milton who sued Robert and John Rose over property in Cotton in 1669,⁶⁶ but since the dispute was still raging in 1677, long after John of Ipswich was quiet in his grave, there must have been a later member of the clan to carry on the feud.⁶⁷

The last of the counties to claim our attention is Worcestershire. Here John Milton himself remains discreetly in the background, but his obstreperous or stubborn wife Anne was presented at least twice in 1637 and 1638 by the constables of Feckenham "for not coming to the parish church" of that village.⁶⁸ We are reminded that stubborn recusancy of this caliber was not wholly unknown among the poet's forbears.

We have now called the roll of counties. There remain yet a few homeless stragglers, men without a county, known only by name. There are John Milton who made an indenture with Paul Bayning in 1629;⁶⁹ John Milton who was sued by Tristram Branche in the time of James I;⁷⁰ John Milton who made an indenture with John Connaway in 1670;⁷¹ and John Milton of London who sued one Sellech in 1628.⁷² Here ends for the time being our information about men who shine by the reflected glory of a famous man's name. We have stood in the receiving line and at least shaken hands with over fifty John Miltons. If one has occasionally "repeated," through our inadvertence, we are powerless to prove his crime.

What's in a name? And, it may be added, to what end have all these ghosts of a distant century been disturbed from their long rest? Well, it may have been a task of supererogation, a thankless, not to say a useless cross laid on the tortured back of the long-suffering reader. But I hope it has perhaps accomplished one or two ends which I had in mind. Though it must again be emphasized that my survey makes no pretense at completeness and often, I fear tantalizes or irritates more than it enlightens, it should serve even

⁶⁵ See above, pp. 378-9.

⁶⁶ C8/223/67.

⁶⁷ C22/673/1, 17, 18, 44; C33/248/f.471v.

⁶⁸ *Worcestershire County Records*, division I, vol. I (1900), pp. 640-4.

⁶⁹ C54/4 Charles I/26.

⁷⁰ C2 J I/B25/23; C2 J I/B34/36.

⁷¹ C54/22 Charles II/25/74.

⁷² C2 Ch I/M58/52.

in its incompleteness as a warning to unwary scholars. In an age when more and more intensive searching is being carried on in documents and manuscripts, it behooves us all to remember that there is usually more than one bearer of almost any name. The more unusual the name, the fewer will be the bearers of it; but John Smith and Thomas Jones are not the only popular names. If a comparatively uncommon name like John Milton can lead such a wild chase as it seems to have done, what shall we expect of Browne, Butler, Donne, Jonson, Fletcher, Davies, Wither, and a host of others? Like the agents of the Department of Justice we must get our man, but like them we must have other clues than a mere name.

We should also do wisely to think twice and more before laying on the doorstep of Milton or any other great author a foundling work bearing a similar name, or worse still, simply his initials.⁷³ Milton did, we grant, write many of the works bearing his name and some which carry only his initials; but the attribution of a good many others must make him moan in anguish in his already desecrated tomb. The story goes that when Milton's wife died, he caused her coffin to be locked with twelve locks and the keys to be distributed to twelve friends, with the instructions (palpably superfluous) that it should never be opened till they all met together.⁷⁴ If this little study can add one more lock and key to Milton's own uneasy coffin, it will have justified its existence.

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⁷³ See the Columbia edition of Milton's *Works*, XVIII. 351ff., 585ff., 634ff.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 613.

THE INFLUENCE OF PLATO ON SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S *DEFENSE OF POESY*

By IRENE SAMUEL

In Sir Philip Sidney's brief *Defense of Poesy* Plato is named twenty times, six in passing allusions, and fourteen with reference to the exile of poets from the Republic. Two additional references to Socrates, both taken from Plato's dialogues, make the total twenty-two, or more than twice the ten citations of Aristotle. Yet the *Defense* seems to rely chiefly, if not altogether directly, on Aristotle's authority and therefore is often spoken of as the first work to introduce the theories of Aristotle's *Poetics* into England.¹ Those who question the extent of that debt substitute the critics of the Italian Renaissance as the primary influence.² Plato's philosophy is held merely to color Sidney's thought;³ and even Albert S. Cook, although he saw that a careful study of Plato must have preceded the writing of the *Defense*, concluded that Sidney's great source is Aristotle.⁴

But whatever the sources that Sidney drew from, the most important aspect of the *Defense of Poesy* is that it is a defense, and that Sidney produced a consistent theory of poetry in order to answer "the most important imputations" leveled against the art. These imputations give Sidney his direction; and the principle of his eclecticism, which leads him to draw together from the Italian critics, from Aristotle, and from Horace, what meets his purpose, is to be sought in what he aims to refute and in his means of refutation. If the "most important imputations" are Plato's and the principle of Sidney's eclecticism too is Platonic, we may properly say that his purpose in the *Defense* is to reconcile Platonism, the accuser, with the function and form of poetry, the accused. We may go further and say that Plato's word is the main source of Sidney's *Defense of Poesy*.

Plato is nowhere cited, as are Aristotle and the Italian critics, for testimony on poetry; and the reason is clear. To quote Plato on any single point would be for Sidney to stand directly within aim of opponents who "cry out with an open mouth, as if they had

¹ See Edith J. Morley, *The Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 56; and Mona Wilson, *Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 156.

² See Marvin T. Herrick, *The Poetics of Aristotle in England*, pp. 26-8; G. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, lxxiv; and Joel E. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, p. 269. Spingarn's position is unchanged in the Italian edition of his book: see his *La Critica Letteraria nel Rinascimento*, trans. by Antonio Fusco, p. 266.

³ See Herrick, *op. cit.*, p. 24; and Smith, *op. cit.*, I, lxxi-lxxiii.

⁴ See Albert S. Cook, Introduction to *The Defense of Poesy*, p. xxxvi.

overshot Robin Hood, that Plato banished . . . [poets] out of his Commonwealth."⁵ Necessarily the Platonism of the *Defense* bears no label.

From direct reference in *Astrophel and Stella* and in the *Defense* we know that Sidney had read much in Plato.⁶ Unmistakable reminiscences of Platonic theories in *Arcadia* and his poems show that he had not read Plato "for nought," but remembered and believed, took and used as his own convictions, what he had found.⁷ And if the final test of a man's philosophy comes on his final day, Sidney may be judged from the report of his friend Fulke Greville to be an ardent disciple of the philosopher whom he "ever esteemed most worthy of reverence."⁸ At the last, he summoned ministers to comfort him, and

instantly after prayer, he entreated this quire of divine Philosophers about him, to deliver the opinion of the ancient Heathen, touching the immortality of the soul; First, to see what true knowledge she retains of her own essence, out of the light of her self; then to parallel with it the most pregnant authorities of the old, and new Testament.⁹

The "ancient Heathen" can be none other than Plato.

I find proof that Sidney knew the *Republic*, *Phaedrus*, and *Symposium*; almost certain evidence that he was familiar with the *Apology*, *Phaedo*, and *Ion*; and indications of an acquaintance with the *Epistles* and *Critias*.¹⁰ Probably he had read a greater number of the dialogues, to some of which he had no need to refer; but, probabilities aside, he had read enough to recognize Platonic doctrine when he met it in others, and surely enough to know when he made use of it himself.¹¹

⁵ *The Defense of Poesy*, p. 35. All citations from the *Defense* are taken from the edition by Albert S. Cook, Boston, 1890.

⁶ Sidney mentions Socrates in a letter to Languet, written from Venice on May 28, 1574. See their *Correspondence*, trans. by Stuart A. Pears: "Neither Socrates nor our own More could lose their jest even in the hour of death." Compare *Phaedo* 118. For other references to the Platonic dialogues, see in *Astrophel and Stella*, ed. by John Drinkwater, Sonnet 21, lines 5-6, and Sonnet 25; in the *Defense of Poesy*, pp. 3-4, 21, 41-43.

⁷ Throughout *Arcadia*, *Astrophel and Stella*, and the other poems reminiscences of Platonic doctrine abound. Compare, for example, Sonnet 5 with *Phaedo* 64, 73-75; *Phaedrus* 250-251, 256; *Republic* 436-441, 475-476, 586-587; and *Symposium* 204-212.

⁸ *Defense*, p. 40.

⁹ Fulke Greville, *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 136-7.

¹⁰ Compare Cook, Introduction, p. xix. Cook listed the *Sophist*, for which I find no adequate evidence, and omitted the *Apology*, *Epistles*, and *Critias* from "the dialogues of Plato which he [Sidney] had apparently studied with most care." Otherwise his list agrees with the above.

¹¹ See Frederick Morgan Padelford's Introduction to *The Axiochus of Plato translated by Edmund Spenser*, Baltimore, 1924, pp. 12-13. Apparently Sidney erred in ascribing to Plato more than was his. Sidney's critics err rather in ascribing less.

Plato, being moved to accuse poetry, has moved many to her defense; and it is not surprising that of these many are Platonists. Sidney is such an apologist for poetry; from the doctrines which his master used to prove her guilt, he composes her acquittal.

We cannot here question the seriousness with which Plato held the view of poetry ascribed to Socrates in the tenth book of the *Republic* or the sophistry of the arguments there used. William Chase Greene has answered the questions in *Plato's View of Poetry*, where he concludes, as we shall see Sidney conclude, that Plato is not completely serious and that he well knows how sophistical his Socrates' arguments are. For a careful study of the passages in Plato which deal with poetry the reader should consult the work of Lane Cooper on *Plato*, published by the Oxford University Press in 1938.

Our purpose is best answered by a summary of Socrates' discussion. First, poetry is immoral, a pander to the passions. Second, poetry is untrue since it has no direct share in the perfect knowledge, which is of the Ideas. Finally, there is a kind of education which can lead to a vision of truth and make men virtuous, so that poetry is not merely surpassed by the discipline of dialectic, but rendered unnecessary and useless.¹²

Before taking up the charges, Sidney gives his real answer to them in the examination of the function and form of poetry, weighing first its "works" and then its "parts." His definition seems to be borrowed from Aristotle and Horace:

Poesy . . . is an art of imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in his word *μίμησις*, that is to say a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth; to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture, with this end—to teach and delight.¹³

"So Aristotle termeth it," and Sidney is glad to have Aristotle's sanction. But though the words are borrowed from the best-known authorities on poetry, the concept of both form and function is Platonistic. When Sidney comes to discuss the proper effect of poetry, he gives most weight to the element of instruction in the twofold aim of Horace; delight he considers a means to that end. Poets, says he, imitate both to delight and teach, and delight to move men to take that goodness in hand, which without delight they would fly as from a stranger; and teach to make them know that goodness whereunto they are moved.¹⁴

¹² *Republic*, X, 595-608.

¹³ *Defense*, p. 9.

¹⁴ *Defense*, p. 10.

In spirit more Platonic than Horatian, Sidney holds that poetry is to teach "the ending end of all earthly learning, . . . virtuous action."¹⁵

Plato's great concern had been with the education of men to virtue, and his Socrates had banished poetry from the Republic because of its dubious moral effect. Sidney, while judging differently, uses the same test. The purpose of poetry, as of all knowledge, must be that liberation of the mind from bodily darkness and vice which Socrates had described in the allegories of the cave and charioteer and had analysed in the *Phaedo* and *Symposium*. Sidney has learned the lesson of allegory and analysis, and states it thus:

to know, and by knowledge to lift up the mind from the dungeon of the body to the enjoying of his own divine essence.¹⁶

Agreeing with Plato that the end of instruction is virtue and that knowledge alone makes men virtuous, Sidney accepts Plato's doctrine that the knowledge which has this efficacy is knowledge of universal patterns. He therefore interprets Aristotle's *mimēsis*, the form of poetry, as "a perfect picture,"¹⁷ in which are figured "all virtues, vices, and passions so in their own natural state laid out to the view, that we seem not to hear of them, but clearly to see through them."¹⁸ The poets give us patterns of quasi-Ideal figures: a perfectly true lover, constant friend, right prince.¹⁹ Sidney thus comes to agree with Aristotle that "it is not riming and versing that maketh a poet," but again for a Platonic, not for the Aristotelian reason: "it is that feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a poet by."²⁰

Poesy has another, more intimate relation with the Platonic World of Ideas. For Plato there are two pre-eminent Ideas which have unusual power to draw man from "the dungeon of the body to the enjoying of his own divine essence"; they are the Idea of the Good, which is the liberating force of the Cave, and the Idea of the Beautiful, which has that function in the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*. Similarly in Sidney's scheme. His poet is the lover in the *Symposium*, "a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting beauty to be seen by the eyes of the mind";²¹ in the "sky of

¹⁵ *Defense*, p. 13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁸ *Defense*, p. 17.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-19.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11. Compare p. 8: "The skill of each artificer standeth in that *idea*, or fore-conceit of the work. . . . And that the poet hath that *idea* is manifest." The italics are mine.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

poetry," a realm elevated beyond mortal change and impurity, he paints "the beauty of virtue."²² The very phrase "the beauty of virtue" is of the essence of Plato's views, summarizes the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, gives the key to the *Republic* and to the life and death of Socrates. Throughout the *Defense* Sidney makes frequent use of the phrase, and more frequent use of the conception. Like the painter who portrays "not Lucretia, whom he never saw, but . . . the outward beauty of such a virtue,"²³ the poet makes perceptible to men "the form of goodness—which seen, they cannot but love."²⁴ It is the praise of the epic poet that, "if the saying of Plato and Tully be true, that who could see virtue would be wonderfully ravished with the love of her beauty, this man setteth her out to make her more lovely."²⁵

But now Sidney proceeds to the "most important imputations laid to the poor poets," not the petty objections of Gosson and other "carping and taunting" *μισομοῦσοι*, as he calls them, but the serious charges which have been seriously made against poetry. By whom? By all those seriously interested in man's welfare, by Tertullian, by Isidore of Seville, by Savonarola in Italy and Cornelius Agrippa in Germany, by stern clerics throughout the Middle Ages and sterner Puritans since; but chiefly by the man who first formulated for the world the serious objections to poetry which, even in his time, were ancient. Saintsbury says, and I hope to show rightly, that in the *Defense of Poesy* "all the Platonic objections to her are retorted or denied."²⁶

Compare, then, with the Socratic charges listed above Sidney's three:

First, that there being many other more fruitful knowledges, a man might better spend his time in them than in this.

Secondly, that it is the mother of lies.

Thirdly, that it is the nurse of abuse, infecting us with many pestilent desires, with a siren's sweetness drawing the mind to the serpent's tail of sinful fancies—and herein especially comedies give the largest field to the ear, as Chaucer saith.²⁷

Sidney admits the premise of the first charge, that only a knowledge which teaches and moves men to virtue is worthy of pursuit. But he has already demonstrated that poetry is worthy for that very reason. Even were another learning more profitable, still

²² *Defense*, p. 28.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁶ *A History of Criticism*, II, 176.

²⁷ *Defense*, pp. 34-5.

it "should follow . . . very unwillingly, that good is not good because better is better."²⁸

The defense of poetry as a mimetic art has already been made in the assertion that poetry imitates universal ideas, and clothes them in human form, yet does not mar their superhuman beauty. That is Sidney's defense against the Socratic charge that the works of poets are thrice removed from truth; that, and not the quibble that since "the poet . . . nothing affirmeth, . . . [he] therefore never lieth."²⁹ His real reply, that poetry is a truer expression of the Ideas than any earthly body they may invest, is a Platonic refutation.

And to Socrates' other accusation, that poetry "feeds and waters the passions," Sidney's answer is again couched in Plato's terms. Not by the abuse, but by the right use of art, says Sidney, must its worth be judged:

It is a good reason, that whatsoever, being abused, doth most harm, being rightly used—and upon the right use each thing receiveth his title—doth most good.³⁰

The words remind us of Socrates in prison, reassuring his friend Crito:

Would that the crowd did, Crito, have the power to work the greatest of evils, for then they could also work the greatest good, and all would be well. As things are, they can do neither. They cannot render anybody either wise or foolish, and they do whatever they do by chance.³¹

We know that for Sidney too the greatest evil and the greatest good that can be done to man is to make him "either wise or foolish."

Is Sidney conscious that these are the accusations of Plato's Socrates? Clearly so, for the last charge that he undertakes to answer is that Plato held these views on poets.

And, lastly and chiefly, they cry out with an open mouth, as if they had overshot Robin Hood, that Plato banished them out of his Commonwealth. Truly this is much, if there be much truth in it.

At the very end of the denunciation and rejection of poetry, Socrates had relented enough to say:

Nevertheless, let it be stated that if the poetry which aims at pleasure, and the imitation, can give a reason why she should exist in a well-ordered State, we for our part will right gladly take her in

²⁸ *Defense*, p. 35.

²⁹ *Defense*, p. 35.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³¹ *Crito* 44, trans. by Lane Cooper, who has generously allowed me to quote his work before its publication. Compare Aristotle: "The corruption of the best is the worst."

again; for we are conscious of the charm she works upon us. And yet it would be impious to betray what we regard as truth. . . . And doubtless we would let her champions who are not poets, but lovers of poetry, plead her cause in prose, and show us that she is not only pleasant but also beneficial to communities and to human life; and we will listen graciously, for surely we shall be the gainers if it can be proved that poetry is not only pleasant but profitable too.³²

Sidney has undertaken this defense of poetry, to prove to Plato on Platonic grounds that she is "beneficial to communities and to human life"; and having refuted the three charges, he finds that Plato, "whom the wiser a man is, the more just cause he shall find to have in admiration," banished "the abuse, not the thing, not banishing it, but giving due honor unto it."³³

From the first he has recognized that Plato was himself a poet:

And truly even Plato whosoever well considereth, shall find that in the body of his work, though the inside and strength were philosophy, the skin as it were and beauty depended most of the poetry. For all standeth upon dialogues; wherein he feigneth many honest burgesses of Athens to speak of such matters that, if they had been set on the rack, they would never have confessed them; besides his poetical describing the circumstances of their meetings, as the well-ordering of a banquet, the delicacy of a walk, with interlacing mere tales, as Gyges' Ring and others, which who knoweth not to be flowers of poetry did never walk into Apollo's garden.³⁴

Undismayed, as less careful readers have been dismayed, by the lofty ground from which the poet made his Socrates attack poetry, Sidney climbs the Platonic stair to meet his opponent on a level—and finds the view more to his purpose than weapons. A sham battle ensues; the Socrates of Plato is vanquished by Sidney, Sidney by the doctrines of Plato's Socrates; and at the last, philosopher and poet, like the "deadliest of legendary foes" in Aristotle's account of the comic *agon*, "quit the stage without any one slaying or being slain."

Let us review the action: In essential agreement with Plato, Sidney interprets the dual function which Horace assigned to poetry by drawing upon Plato's theory of virtue and knowledge. He explains Aristotle's concept of poetry as imitation by turning to the Platonic world of perfect patterns. The secret of the poet's

³² *Republic*, X, 607, trans. by Lane Cooper in his selections from *Plato*, p. 359.

³³ *Defense*, p. 43.

³⁴ *Defense*, pp. 3-4. Compare Longinus and Milton, good students of Plato both, on the poetry of the Dialogues: Longinus *On the Sublime* 13 and Milton *De Idea Platonica* 35-9. See also the *Defense*, p. 24: "Plato and Boethius . . . made Mistress Philosophy very often borrow the masking raiment of Poesy."

power to move men to virtue is found in the Platonic theory of the Beautiful. Throughout the *Defense* Sidney insists, as Plato has insisted, upon the inspired origin of good poetry. When he undertakes to refute the most important accusations against poetry, he considers the charges which the Platonic Socrates is first known to have formulated, and adds—and refutes—as a fourth that "Plato banished . . . [poets] out of his Commonwealth." Having thus completed the refutation, he comforts himself that Plato "shall be our patron and not our adversary."

Gregory Smith, debating the possibility of Platonic influence on the *Defense*, holds that

there is certainly something Platonic in Sidney's conception of the golden world of art beyond the brazen world of nature.

Yet he hesitates to explain the conception as direct borrowing even from the Platonists of the Renaissance:

If these things were originally Plato's, Plato had been absorbed in European thought; and the impulses, though first expressed by him, were, in every valid sense, each thinker's own.⁸⁵

Lest my thesis seem to push the historical method too far, or to deny Gregory Smith's perfectly true statement that Plato had been absorbed in European thought by Sidney's time, let us state the proposition again, using Shelley instead of Sidney as our example. There surely is something Platonic in Shelley's conception of the poet as participating in the eternal, the infinite, and the one; but since Plato had been absorbed in European thought long ere Shelley's day, it would be pushing the historical method too far to explain such a position as direct borrowing even from contemporary Platonists. Such an impulse, though first expressed by Plato, is, in every valid sense, by Shelley's time, each thinker's own. But no one who knows that Shelley translated the *Ion*, *Symposium*, and passages from the *Republic*, that Shelley wrote the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* and the *Sensitive Plant* so obviously inspired by Plato—no one who knows how precious Plato was to Shelley will allow this negation of a direct debt. Similarly, we who have seen how Sidney wrote the sonnets of *Astrophel and Stella* and the Arcadian romance clearly under the influence of Plato, how he encouraged Spenser in his Platonism, how at his death he sought reassurance in the words of Plato, how in the *Defense* itself he asserted that Plato of all philosophers he had "ever esteemed most worthy of reverence"; we cannot allow that Sidney's golden world of art is not the Platonism of a loving student of Plato, but simply a

⁸⁵ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, lxxii-lxxiii.

faint resemblance in the current of European thought to the original source. There is in his conception, here and throughout the *Defense*, certainly something Platonic, something taken immediately from Plato, however and whenever re-enforced.

The remainder of the *Defense* suggests particular precepts for the regeneration of English letters, but the theory, the *apologia*, has been stated. Sidney has tried the poet by the standard which Plato set; and has found him, of all who may be tried by that standard, most able to perform the Platonic function of leading men to that virtue and happiness which a knowledge of truth bestows.

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AMIDAS v. BRACIDAS

By HERBERT B. NELSON

The quarrel in the *Faerie Queene*, V, iv, between Amidas and his brother Bracidas, involving as it does the ownership of a treasure chest cast up by the sea, is properly a matter involving *wreccum maris* or flotsam, yet apart from the incomplete and somewhat inexact notes in Gough's edition the dispute has never been discussed in relation to maritime law.¹

Greenlaw is convinced that the episode is founded on fact and refers to the Earl of Northumberland's claim to treasure cast ashore in 1560. He suggests, further, that Spenser wishes to assert the right of the Queen to the lands which had been discovered by her mariners.² The commonly accepted interpretation of the episode is that Artegal as the personification of Justice applies Aristotle's principle of Corrective Justice in awarding the chest of treasure to Bracidas in fair exchange for the land that had been washed from his island to his brother's.³ Both Jones and Osgood, however, make the additional suggestion that this episode involves the issue between law and equity.⁴

Greenlaw's suggestion that this episode refers to treasure cast ashore within the jurisdiction of the Earl of Northumberland is highly improbable as the following facts will show. It was in 1566—not 1560—that Northumberland became involved in this famous dispute over money that was being sent by Philip II to Mary Queen of Scots. Francis Yaxley, whom Elizabeth refers to as "an evill subject of ours," was to carry 20,000 crowns to Mary, but his ship was wrecked off the Northumbrian coast and his body washed ashore with the funds still upon it. Northumberland claimed the money. He was supported in his claim by Queen Elizabeth, who advised him to reply to Mary that he had nothing but what was found on a drowned Englishman, and the money, being unclaimed by any person, belonged to him as "just wrack."⁵ Very naturally

¹ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, Book V, ed. by Alfred B. Gough, Oxford, 1932, p. 212.

² Edwin Greenlaw, *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory*, The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1932, pp. 141-2.

³ Cf. H. S. V. Jones, *A Spenser Handbook*, F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1937, pp. 255-6. Mohinimohan Bhattacharje, *Studies in Spenser*, University of Calcutta, 1929, p. 8.

⁴ Jones, *op. cit.*, 256 and *A Variorum Edition of the Works of Edmund Spenser*, V, p. 195.

⁵ *Calender of Scottish Papers*, II, p. 272.

Elizabeth chose to ignore the claim Mary made to the treasure, and later she put in her own claim as owner.⁶

Although the incident of Amidas and Bracidas and the Northumberland episode have one thing in common, i.e., treasure washed up on the shore, it is impossible to see enough similarities to suggest that Spenser had this actual case even remotely in his mind. It may be that the Amidas-Bracidas episode is based on some actual case, but if so that case has not yet been found. It may also be a hypothetical law case retold by Spenser, for it suggests similar cases in *The Doctor and Student* and Coke's *Institutes*. Or it may be based on an Irish folk tale, now lost. What seems most likely, however, is that Spenser made up the incident to illustrate the operation of equity in securing justice.

Mohinimohan Bhattacharje sees this episode as an instance of the application of Aristotle's Corrective Justice, but Spenser had no need to go to Aristotle to find the principle—the Court of Chancery had for its main purpose the correcting of justice and the application of the principles of equity. About the 14th century, when the common law became so tied down by artificial restrictions that it was no longer able to render justice in a great number of legal relations, the chancellor, as the keeper of the king's conscience, applied the principles of abstract justice to secure remedies. The Court of Chancery was a court of conscience which down to the chancellorship of Sir Thomas More was administered by churchmen, either bishops or archbishops, who did not hesitate to set aside the common law if it did not accord with equity. As Lord Ellesmere, who was Lord Chancellor from 1597 to 1616, said shortly before his death, "The cause why there is a Chancery is for that men's actions are so divers and infinite that it is impossible to make any general law which may aptly meet every particular act, and not fail in some circumstances."⁷ It can thus be seen that there is nothing in the principles of equity which had not been stated in Aristotle's Corrective Justice, but it is very likely that the poet was concerning himself here with one of the great problems of his day and not presenting an academic illustration of Aristotle's theories. Every educated Elizabethan would have sufficient knowledge of equity to treat it as generally as Spenser does; Spenser, moreover, had an additional incentive to interest in the Court of Chancery, for Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor from 1587 to 1592, had Irish estates only a short distance from Spenser's.

⁶ Frank Arthur Mumby, *The Fall of Mary Stuart*, Constable & Company Ltd., London, 1921, p. 33.

⁷ Quoted in Duncan Mackenzie Kerley, *An Historical Sketch of the Equitable Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery*, University Press, Cambridge, 1890, p. 100.

A brief review of maritime legislation up to the time of Spenser will show what the law would require of a lord who had found a chest of treasure cast up on his land as flotsam. The earliest efforts made in England to correct the feudal right of wreck were made in 1102. In the second year of his reign Henry I made an attempt to restore wrecked ships to the survivor or survivors, but an interesting case involving the Archbishop of Canterbury and the abbot of Battle Abbey shows that his efforts did not survive his death.⁸ Not until 1190 did Richard I revive and expand Henry's proclamation, renouncing his royal right to wreck and giving the owners or relatives a year in which to reclaim their property.⁹ But, although Henry I and Richard I renounced to some extent their royal rights to wreck, their laws either had not been enforced or had fallen into discard by 1236 when Henry III attempted to correct current evils by the following edict:

Grant, for the abolition of bad customs, that in future, if ever a ship be in peril within the king's dominions whether on the sea-coast of England, or of Poitou, or of the isle of Oleron, or of Gascony, and any man escape alive therefrom and come to land, all the goods and chattels in the said ship shall remain and belong to their former owners, and shall not be lost to them as wreck; and if no man escape alive, but an animal (*bestia*) escape alive or be found living in the ship, then the goods and chattels found in the ship shall be delivered by the king's bailiffs or by the bailiffs of those upon whose land the ship was in peril, to four good men to be kept by them for three months, so that, if the owners come within that term and claim the said goods and prove that they are theirs, the said goods shall be restored to them; but in default of such claim the goods shall be the king's as wreck, or shall go to the person possessing the liberty of wreck.¹⁰

In 1275 the period of three months granted by Henry III for reclaiming wrecked goods was extended to a year and a day by Edward I, if a man, a dog, or a cat escaped quick out of the ship.¹¹ A statute of Edward III in 1353 provided for payment to "them that have saved and kept" the wreck, "convenient for their travel (*travaill*)," and it completes the important laws regulating the right to wreck.¹² They remained unchanged until 1771.

From these laws it is clear that from early times down through the time of Spenser efforts, not always successful, were made to re-

⁸ Melville Madison Bigelow, *Placita Anglo-Normanica*, London, 1879, p. 86.

⁹ *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. by William Stubbs, Rolls Series, London, 1868-71, III, p. 68.

¹⁰ *Calender of Charter Rolls, Henry III, A. D. 1226-1257*, London, 1903, I, pp. 219-20.

¹¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, I, p. 28.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 338.

turn the wrecked property to the owner if he could prove his ownership within a year and a day. By the statutes of the realm, then, Bracidas had no claim to the chest of treasure, being entitled only to payment for his labor in recovering the flotsam.

Until the early part of the reign of Edward III questions of wreck, flotsam, jetsam, and so forth, were dealt with either by the common law courts, by the Chancellor, or by the King's Council.¹³ About the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, matters of this sort frequently began to be decided by the reorganized Court of Admiralty; accordingly it is important to examine the attitude of that court toward wreck and flotsam in the time of Spenser.

From very early times an officer of state called *custos maris* had been given control of the English fleet, but not until returning Crusaders brought back to Europe the Arabic term, *Emir* or *Amir al bahr*, meaning commander of the sea, was he known as admiral. About the beginning of the fourteenth century the Cinque Ports, taking advantage of their sea power, seem to have set up the Warden of the Ports as admiral with a court of his own, apart from other courts, to try matters concerned with the sea.¹⁴ Undoubtedly the introduction of this new court was connected with the difficulty foreigners had in securing justice in the courts of the common law over questions involving piracy and wreck. At first there were admirals of the North, South, and West, but by the end of the fifteenth century a single court was established under what came to be called the Lord High Admiral. Frequent disputes occurred between the courts of the common law and the Court of Admiralty over questions of jurisdiction, and in 1390 and 1392 statutes were passed to curb the increasing power of the admiralty court.¹⁵ But in spite of such laws and the opposition of the advocates of the common law it had gained great power by the sixteenth century.

The Court of Admiralty used the laws and customs of Oleron. After the decline of the Roman Empire, the Levant still observed a form of the earliest sea laws—the Rhodian Code. When Queen Eleonora, duchess of Guienne, returned from a trip to the Holy Land, she caused a compilation to be made of the laws and judgments of the west which she intended would serve as a code governing all questions of maritime law.¹⁶ Her son, Richard I of England and Duke of Guienne, adopted this collection, still preserving the name given to the original collection—the *Roll of Oleron*.¹⁷

¹³ *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty*, ed. by Reginald G. Marsden, Publications of the Selden Society, London, 1897, II, p. XXXIX.

¹⁴ *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty*, I, p. VIII.

¹⁵ *Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. by Sir Travers Twiss, London, 1871, I, pp. 412-13-14.

¹⁶ M. D. A. Azuni, *The Maritime Law of Europe*, New York, 1806, I, pp. 377-8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

Judgments from the *Roll of Oleron* show that the admiral was entitled to take by virtue of his office "one moiety of every manner of flotsam found on the sea, whether it be casks of wine, bundles of cloth, sacks of wool, or any other thing, and the takers and seisors of the same the other moiety."¹⁸ This division, however, did not apply if the owner claimed his goods within a year.¹⁹

From the *Roll of Oleron* we may see clearly what the church and the law expected of a lord who, in real life, had found a "sea-beaten chest" that had been washed up on his lands. If any master, mariner, or merchant escaped from the wreck, the lord was supposed to give succor and aid, not taking any more for his labor than a just reward on pain of excommunication by the church. If no living being survived the wreck, the lord was expected to pay the salvors for their labor out of the property saved, the remainder being saved for a year and a day. At the end of that time, if the owners had not claimed the goods, they were to be sold publicly and the money so received was to be used "to have prayer made to God for the dead, or to marry poor maydes, or to do other workes of mercy after reason and conscience."²⁰

We have seen that by the statutes in force during the sixteenth century Bracidas had no claim to the treasure that had belonged to Philtra. By admiralty law, also, Bracidas had no legal claim to the chest. There was no doubt that the chest had belonged to Philtra, as the chest could be identified "by good markes, and perfect good espiall." Unfortunately, therefore, all that the law could assure to Bracidas was a just payment for his labor in salvaging the flotsam. Of course, if ownership could not be established, he was entitled to half, the other half going to the admiral.

One other possibility, however, must be considered—Bracidas might have been one of those favored lords who had been given a patent by the king that gave them the right to keep all the things of value that were washed up on their own lands. As early as the eleventh century Edward the Confessor had granted Urk, his husband, the right to whatever might be driven to his strand.²¹ (Cf. *Faerie Queene*, III, iv, 22-23.) Later sovereigns granted this right

¹⁸ *Black Book of the Admiralty*, I, p. 397.

¹⁹ The case of John Scotte of Mylton illustrates the usual procedure. Scotte had found a ship's boat of about three tons on the high seas near Kent. He caused it to be appraised by four mariners, who placed its value at thirty shillings. When he afterwards sold it for 36s 8d, he immediately paid 18s 4d "to the office of the Lord High Admiral according to the laws of the sea"; then he made oath and bound himself and all his goods to the sum of 40s that he would restore the said boat to anyone who should prove his ownership within a year and a day. *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty*, I, pp. 210-11.

²⁰ *Black Book of the Admiralty*, II, pp. 461 and 463.

²¹ John Mitchell Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, London, 1861, II, 67.

freely, so that Bracidas might well have been entitled to the treasure. But if he had, he surely would not have failed to mention this conclusive, irrefutable fact to establish his case. Moreover, Amidas could prove "by triall" that the treasure chest had belonged to Philtra, and this hint of an *oyer et terminer* procedure is a further indication that Bracidas had not been granted the rights to wreck.

By the law, then, Bracidas had no case—the treasure did not belong to him merely because he had found it. It made no difference that most of his island had been washed away to increase the size of his brother's island, for according to both Roman law and English law, the land added gradually by accretion belonged to the owner of the adjacent land.²²

Accordingly, here is a case which obviously involves justice but which will result in injustice if the law is observed. We know from *A View of the Present State of Ireland* that Spenser was interested in laws that "pervert Justice to extreme Injustice." Irenæus, in that work, speaks as follows:

The lawes, Eudox., I doe not blame for themselves, knowing right well that all lawes are ordayned for the good of the common-weale, and for repressing of licentiousness and vice; but it falleth out in lawes, no otherwise then it doth in phisick, which was at first devised, and is yet dayly ment, and ministred for the health of the patient. But neverthelesse we often see, that either through unseasonableness of the time, or through accidentes coming between, in steede of good, it worketh hurt, and, out of one evill, throweth the patient into many miseryes. Soe the lawes were at first intended for the reformation of abuses, and peaceable continuance of the subjectes; but are sithence either disanulled, or quite prevaricated through chaunge and alterations of times, yet are they good still in themselves; but to that commonwealth, which is ruled by them, they sometimes also, perhaps, that evill which they would not.²³

In the episode of Amidas and Bracidas Spenser presents one instance in which a strict observance of the maritime law will result in injustice; however, he was not the first to challenge the equity of the maritime code, for as early as 1518 the Doctor of Divinity in *The Doctor and Student* had expressed doubts that "the law of England concerning goods that be wrecked upon the sea" accorded with justice. To him it seemed that the statute of Edward I did not stand with conscience, "for there is no lawful cause why

²² Cf., e.g., *Gai Institutiones*, 4th ed. rev. by E. A. Whitluck, Oxford, 1904, p. 160; also *Institutes of Justinian*, 3rd ed. trans. by J. B. Moyle, Oxford, 1896, p. 39; also Earl of Halsbury, *The Laws of England*, London, 1909, III, p. 119.

²³ Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, Globe edition, 1906, p. 610.

the party ought to forfeit his goods, ne the king or lords ought to have them, for there is no cause of forfeiture in the party, but rather a cause of sorrow or heaviness; and so the law seemeth to add sorrow upon sorrow."²⁴

It may be assumed that Spenser was acquainted with the law of the sea, for his clerkship in Munster must have brought it to his attention; moreover, his friend Sir Walter Raleigh was involved in several cases dealing with wreck and flotsam.²⁵

It is very probable that the poet recognized, as did the Doctor of Divinity, instances where a strict observance of the law would not lead to true justice. The episode of Amidas and Bracidas was the result. Bracidas had lost his land but had no legal right to damages; he had found a treasure chest equal in value to the land he had lost but was denied its possession by both common law and admiralty law. Obviously the only way to secure justice was to ignore the law and apply the principles of equity. Accordingly, Artegall, personifying equity in this episode, cited the maxim—"That what the sea vnto you sent, your own should seeme—" and the case was settled.

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²⁴ Christopher St. Germain, *The Doctor and Student*, rev. by William Muchall, Cincinnati, 1886, p. 265.

²⁵ *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty*, II, pp. LXXII and LXXIV.

REVIEWS

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Werden und Wesen der deutschen Sprache. Eine sprachgeschichtliche Einführung. By GEORGE NORDMEYER. Farrar & Rinehart, Inc.: N. Y., 1939. Pp. viii+120. \$2.25.

In the introduction we read: "In this presentation I have included many results of my own work on the subject matter, without giving proof of my findings." Many will question the wisdom of such action. A book which aims to be a brief survey of a field should include only facts and accepted theories. New and hypothetical material should be presented in learned journals, for we cannot expect the novice to separate the wheat from the chaff which he might find in an elementary text.

As an example, Dr. Nordmeyer presents in the discussion of the High German sound shift (Chap. IX), a very fanciful theory of the manner in which the double voiceless stops changed to the affricatives. The author claims that the first of the two voiceless stops changed to the fricative, since it stood at the end of the syllable. The second stop changed to the affricative. "Aus sit-tjan wurde somit *sistzen* (das *j* verschwand), woraus sich das deutsche *sitzen* leicht ergibt" (p. 61). It would seem that we need a new definition of the word "leicht."

The inclusion of a phonetic alphabet is commendable. It is, however, rather difficult to see why such great variations from the international phonetic alphabet persist. Though the one or the other symbol may not suit our individual tastes, we may be sure that any new symbol we may propose will not suit the tastes of others. For example, in this book we find [h] and crossed *k* for the *ich* and *ach* sounds respectively. If the printing difficulties do not allow the use of the *c* with the cedilla and the *chi*, then why not use the *x* instead of a crossed *k*? Moreover, it seems rather inconsistent to distinguish between the *ich* and *ach* sounds, when no distinction is made between the palatal and the velar [g] or [k], nor between the different positions assumed in pronouncing the short and the long *i*, *e*, *o*, *u*, *ö*, *ü*.

In the examples illustrating the phonetic alphabet (pp. 23 ff.) there are two instances where the final *-ig* is transcribed as [-ik]. This is not in accordance with the Deutsche Bühnenaussprache which should be our standard.

The author admits indirectly that his phonetic alphabet is an imperfect tool, for on page thirty-five he speaks of an "ä-ähnlichen Laut" and an "â-ähnlichen Laut." The *ä* and the *â* are explained in the footnote by this obscure statement: "Wie der Buchstabe *ä* den Laut zwischen *a* und *e* darstellt, so stellt der Buchstabe *â* den Laut zwischen *a* und *o* vor." The use of the international phonetic alphabet would have obviated this difficulty.

A more consistent use of the symbols in the book would have made for greater clarity and avoided the error of confusing spelling

with sounds. Thus on page sixty-two: "Englisch *th* = Neuhochdeutsch *d*: bath—Bad, booth—Bude, brother—Bruder, cloth—Kleid, etc." So also on page 104: "Nhd. *d* geht aus südgerm. (engl.) *d*, idg. *t* hervor: Wind." The sounds represented by the letter *d* are either [t] or [d]. Likewise the statements on top of page sixty-six are not clear: "und nur in den südlichsten Dialekten . . . findet sich die Verschiebung von *d* zu *t* auch nach den Lauten *n* und *l* durchgeführt, wo die anderen Dialekte oft noch *d* schreiben." The subject discussed deals with *sounds*, not *spellings*.

Among the inaccurate statements encountered in the book one may find:

1. The High German sound-shift changes the English *d* into a German *t* (p. 20)! Also in other places the author uses "English" instead of "Germanic."

2. To the statement that *b* is a voiced *f* (p. 20), the author adds: "es ist im Klang dem engl. *w* in *beware* recht ähnlich." However, the voiced *f* is [v] and the *w* in *beware* is [w].

3. In several places the sign >, which means "change into," is used incorrectly. For example, p. thirty-three: "altlat. *uiros* "Mann" > urgerm. *wiras*." So also on p. sixty-eight: "ae. *gōd* > ahd. *guot* > nhd. *gut*." Likewise on p. sixty-nine "got. *dauphus* > ahd. *tōd* . . . got. *hlaupan* > ahd. *loufan*." Instead of the sign > the colon (:) which means "correspond to" should have been used.

4. "Nhd. *a* ist Kürzung des zu erwartenden nhd. *ā*: brachte" (p. 101). However we do expect NHG. *a* according to the rule stated on page eighty-seven (shortening of a long vowel in a closed syllable). A similar statement is made with respect to other NHG vowels, which contradicts the rules stated previously, as "ō stellt Längung des zu erwartenden nhd. *o* vor: gezogen" (p. 103).

5: "... die vorgeschichtliche Zeit, in der sich die Konsonantenveränderungen vollziehen, und die geschichtliche Zeit, die durch Vokalveränderungen gekennzeichnet ist." This statement (p. 97) sounds as though there were no vowel changes in the prehistoric period.

6. In the discussion of the early NHG diphthongization (p. 86) we read: "Diese Diphthongierung langer Vokale griff auch auf die fränkischen Dialekte über . . . Die so entstandenen *au* und *ei* sind mit ursprünglichen *ou*, das zu *au* wurde (*loufan*-*laufen*), und *ei* (wie in *stein*) zusammengefallen." The author does not distinguish between what happens in the dialects and what happens in the NHG literary language.

7. On page forty-six the extreme dates of the MHG period are given as 1200-1500. On page eighty-two the initial date is given as 1050 and on pages eighty-six and eighty-eight the final date as 1450.

8. After defining the MHG *tageweide* as "the distance covered in a day's journey," the author continues: "Das heißt, daß man ursprünglich unter einer Tagereise eine Strecke verstand, die das Vieh bei Wanderungen im Verlauf eines Tages weiden konnte. So zeigt uns dieses Wort die Germanen als ein ursprüngliches Hirtenvolk, das aber schon mit Ackerbau gut vertraut war" (p. 46). The last sentence is certainly *non sequitur*; the mere presence of a word in Middle High German cannot vouch for conditions as they existed two thousand years previously. Even if our old "Germane" did have a few cows which roamed over the countryside, how can that prove that he was also a tiller of the soil? This one MHG word has been given too much responsibility.

Besides the items mentioned above, many will take exception to the division of the Germanic languages into North and South Germanic and to the fact that Chapter XI which bears the title "The South Germanic Dialects," makes no mention of the Old High German. Likewise many will question the explanation (p. 37) that the [i:] in the preterite of *steigen* developed upon the analogy of the participial [i:] or (p. 41) that the [a] of the infinitive stem of the strong verbs of class VI is the *zero grade* of the preterite [o:]. It is more logical to assume that the preterite singular *stieg* is a new formation based upon the plural forms of the preterite; and with respect to the [a] of the class VI verbs we should speak of the *reduced grade* instead of the *zero grade*. Neither can all accept the statement that Standard German "des Tages" is an analogical form in place of "des Tāges" (p. 44).

The English words *skirt* and *shirt* are used to illustrate dialectic differences, and the two forms *burden* and *burthen* are explained as due to Verner's Law. It is rather difficult to justify the use of forms which even the author admits are not generally accepted (see footnotes pp. 3 and 12).

The close relationship of English and German was emphasized, though perhaps there is too much emphasis on the English for a book which aims to present the origins and nature of the German language. The inclusion of charts and selections from the various dialects is a commendable feature of the book.

We are indeed happy that the American publishers are undertaking the publication of works of a rather specialized nature. It is, however, unfortunate that this book has the objectionable features shown above, for there is room for a book of this nature which has the additional advantage of being printed in this country. The printing was very well done with only these errors noted: *aufgrund* instead of *auf Grund* (p. 43); *et* instead of *er* (p. 84); and *der* instead of *dem* (p. 99).

HERMAN C. MEYER

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[Reprinted from *Modern Language Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 3, September, 1940.]

Geschichtsdrama und nationaler Mythos: Grenzfragen zur Gegenwartsform des Dramas. Von JULIUS PETERSEN. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1940. Pp. 61. RM. 2.85.

In the present monograph Professor Petersen publishes in very compact form his findings on the historical drama. Varying practices of the Ancients, conflicting conceptions held by classical writers, romanticists, and realists, and the tendencies among the "Third Reichers" are concisely reviewed.

Professor Petersen cites Wanderscheck's classification (cf. review in *MLQ*, June, 1940), and opines that the current "Geschichtsdrama" with its exaggerated emphasis on the heroic and the "persönliche Mythisierung" (p. 50) corresponds more closely to the trend of the times than do the "historische Schauspiele" and the "Historienstücke," which stress historical parallels to the present. Of the contemporary "historical" drama, he writes: "Nicht so sehr das historische als das politische Interesse der Gegenwart und die Sehnsucht der Zukunft ist bestimmend" (p. 50).

The chapter on the "Neue Bühne" reviews efforts to find or invent suitable stagings (Annaberg in Schlesien, Stedingsehn near Oldenburg, the Dietrich Eckart Theater in Bochum) for presenting desirable phases of national mythology, and concludes that the stage is ready for the masterpiece. But where is the dramatist?

The era of the New Drama goes back to Paul Ernst, who denied "den Historien Shakespeares den Charakter des Dramas überhaupt" (pp. 46-47). E. G. Kolbenheyer formulated certain requirements for a "Dritte Bühne" and Ernst Bacmeister undertook to fulfill at least the stylistic prescriptions. Erich von Hartz (in *Odrun*) and Curt Langenbeck (in *Alexander* and *Hochverräter*) have experimented with myth and chorus. But probably the best "mythologization" has been done by Eberhard Wolfgang Möller in *Das Frankfurter Würfelspiel*. One of the chief values of the compendious booklet lies in Professor Petersen's evaluation of these and other very recent productions.

EDMUND E. MILLER

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[Reprinted from *Modern Language Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 3, September, 1940.]

Das Bild in der Dichtung. II. Band. Voruntersuchungen zum Symbol. By HERMANN PONGS. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939. Pp. 632. Mk. 20.-

Toward the end of the first volume, *Das Bild in der Dichtung*, which was published in 1927 and dealt chiefly with the metaphor, Professor Pongs came to the conclusion that the problem of poetic imagery could be solved only by a thorough study of the symbol, particularly in the broader sense of a universal concept:

Solange die hier untersuchte Morphologie der metaphorischen Formen mit ihrem Mittelpunkt des dichterischen Bildes, als der Gefühlsmetapher im eigentlichen Sinn, noch nicht ergänzt ist durch die Morphologie der symbolischen Formen, die bisher nur in der Früschicht des Gebäudesymbols, Dingsymbols und Lautsymbols gestreift wurden, ihre volle Formentwicklung aber erst erhalten in einer Welterfassung, die wesentlich vom Geist als dem "Vorwalten des oberen Leitenden" bestimmt ist, solange muß eine theoretische Grundlegung des dichterischen Bildens . . . verfrüht erscheinen. (P. 455.)

The second volume now presents in book form a series of articles and one monograph on this subject which have appeared in various periodicals in the intervening years. Its secondary title: *Voruntersuchungen zum Symbol* indicates that the author himself is aware of the fact that there is still much to be done in this field. The volume is, however, more than a mere re-editing of old material: a quite thorough reworking of many parts, with due consideration of recent research, as well as an occasional simplification of style, is evident. Outwardly the work lacks conciseness, a pit-fall which perhaps could not be avoided in so involved a problem.

The entire first section, "Aufsätze zum Unbewußten," is a reckoning with the psychology of Freud and its influence on post-war literature:

Der eine Ansatz kam aus Nöten der Nachkriegszeit in der Auseinandersetzung mit der damals herrschenden Tiefenpsychologie. Die Entkräftung aller leitenden Symbole im Leben und in der Dichtung führte auf eine Zeiterkrankung: die Seelenschwäche der Ambivalenz. Die Ambivalenz ist ein Wertezweifel, eine Unsicherheit in den entscheidenden Wertungen des Lebens, die sich darin erklärt, daß das Bewußtsein anders wertet als das Unbewußte. An Beispielen solcher Ambivalenz in der Literatur zeichneten sich, am Negativ gleichsam, Voraussetzungen echter Symbolbildung ab. Echte Symbolbildung lebt danach aus einer Entscheidung für Werte und Ordnungen, die vom überpersönlichen Lebenswillen geprägt sind, durch die Gemeinschaft mitbestimmt und getragen. (Vorwort.)

As basis for his investigation Professor Pongs presupposes as the creator of symbols a poet, "der überschauend und umfassend dennoch mithineingerissen ist in jenen geheimnisvollen Vorgang, den Goethe die lebendig- Augenblickliche Offenbarung des Unerforschlichen nennt." His particular objection to the Freudian system is its one-sided analytic interpretation in contrast to the anagogic or spiritual, even mystical, approach which Freud's pupil, Silberer, had proposed. Leaning in part in the direction of Jung, Pongs distinguishes three types of dream and, correspondingly, three types of

imagery (*Imago-Bildung*): the catagoric or purely instinctive; the one-sidedly anagogic or sublimating; and the type of images which combines the conscious and the unconscious in a "*Traumbildung*" of symbolic significance. Stefan Zweig furnishes examples of the first type, Ibsen of the second, Hölderlin of the third. Abundant as are his illustrations, the author realizes that he is drawing very general lines of demarcation, for he states in connection with Hölderlin:

Jede einzelne Metapher müßte nach ihrem Herkunfts- und Wirkungsfeld abgehört werden, um Inhalt und Fülle dieser einzigartigen lyrischen Bildkraft nach den beiden Richtungen zu erforschen, die sich uns vorläufig unter den Begriffen des Unbewußten und des Anagogischen dargeboten haben. (Pp. 88-89.)

In the second section, "Aufsätze zur Novelle," the writer proceeds on a general division of the problem into conscious and unconscious shaping of symbols, and finds in the *genre* of the *Novelle* the most fruitful field for the demonstration of his thesis. Tracing the development of the German *Novelle* from the Romance forms of Boccaccio and Cervantes on into the Nineteenth Century, we are told:

Aus der Eiformung der kunstbewußten romanischen Gesellschaftsnovelle in die gehaltsschwere deutsche Schicksalsnovelle folgt ganz von selbst ein Vertiefen der Symbolbeziehungen von außen nach innen, bis auch hier die bewußte Symbolforschung durchflutet wird vom Anteil des Unbewußten her, je mehr sich die Novelle den Tiefenfragen und Zwiespälten des Lebens öffnet. (P. 94.)

With the chapter on "Möglichkeiten des Tragischen in der Novelle" the author differentiates between the Romance *genre* and the German on the basis of the constructive or consciously formed symbol (*Symbolschaffung*) of the former, such as the falcon in Boccaccio's tale of Federigo or the heart in the story of Guiscardo and Sigismonda, and the unconsciously created symbol (*Symbolischöpfung*) of the latter. Ploughing somewhat deeper into the relation between symbols and the demonic as an example of the unconscious, for which he uses Büchner's *Lenz*, Mörike's *Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag*, and J. Gotthelf's *Die schwarze Spinne*, Pongs recognizes two different problems in regard to symbols in the *Novelle*:

Die Technik der Novelle zielt auf ein Symbol als konstruktives Element, das Handlung und tieferen Sinn in einem bedeutsamen Zeichen zusammenschließt. Der Idealfall ist hier, daß das Zufällige einer Begebenheit unter der Kraft des Symbols in ein Gesetzhafes und Allgemeingültiges verwandelt wird. Je mehr aber die Novelle des großen Dichters sich die widerspruchsvolle Tiefe der Existenz erschließt, um so weniger reicht ein solches konstruktives Zeichen aus. (Pp. 295-296.)

In contrast to such constructive symbols which are inadequate to the enlarged range of subject-matter in the later nineteenth century *Novelle*, the author then begins an investigation into those of deeper significance, which he terms "*existentielle Symbole*." These cannot be found in a *genre* like the *Novelle*, the whole tradition of

which is limited to a single phase or moment of existence. He therefore turns, in the present volume, to the ode and to tragedy, reserving for the future a study of the symbol in the field of the novel.

The third section, "Aufsätze zur Existenzfrage," is the most daring, and consequently the least satisfactory in the volume, as the author himself is aware. For in it he accepts the concept of the demonic as the basic element of existence. All three parts of this last section are somewhat colored by the present political situation in Germany, but the book as a whole does not suffer from these embellishments. The original thesis stands firmly on its own merits. Most convincing is perhaps the chapter on the relation of poet and people to the drama, which treats of Shakespeare and Schiller.

This work, in spite of its careful indexing, cannot be used as a reference book any more happily than could the first volume on the metaphor. Only to one familiar with whole chapters is the index a useful apparatus. Professor Pongs' analyses of poems, *Novellen*, or dramas are original and thorough. The weakness, if any, lies in somewhat rambling philosophic digressions and an inadequate coordination of the original essays, which frequently means useless repetition. That is, however, only a minor fault of outward form. It is not easy to dispute the underlying thesis of the work as it now stands, but until this has been amplified by an investigation into the field of the novel, as the author proposes to do, no final word may be ventured. In general, the inductive method, which is maintained in the book, carries conviction with it.

MYRA R. JESSEN

Bryn Mawr College

The Genius of the German Lyric. An Historic Survey of its Formal and Metaphysical Values. By A. CLOSS. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938. Pp. 478. 18 s.

An authoritative work of almost five hundred pages, in English, on the genius of German lyric poetry in the nature of a historical survey of its formal and metaphysical values, written during one of Western mankind's unhappiest eras by an Austrian-born scholar who holds the chair for German literature at the English University of Bristol, seems one of the many anomalies in which these agitated days abound. That Professor Closs's book, which represents the best fruit of many years' research, is not merely a compendium of a genre but rather a study of the character of the German lyric as reflected in the mirror of countless widely different ages, with careful analyses of the work of individual poets and particularly of their greatest separate poems, should be stressed at the outset.

It goes without saying that such a volume must do more than merely repeat accepted appraisals. It should be written subjectively with affectionate judgment. Closs satisfies this requirement to the

fullest extent. He proves to be artist as well as scholar, sensitive lover of art as well as critic, respecter of tradition as well as iconoclast. Naturally, then, he exposes himself to the criticism of others who contemplate his work in the same subjective spirit. They may have many complaints. They may contend that he has not done justice to the Old High German "Marienlied," or perhaps that he has slighted Claudius, or stressed Hölderlin and Werfel too little, and Opitz and Holz too much. They may find that the section on Walther von der Vogelweide is too biographical and does not emphasize the poet's vast influence sufficiently.

On the canvas allotted to him Professor Closs could not be expected to deal exhaustively even with the most important lyrics of German literature. When we consider that Josef Körner devoted forty pages to Goethe's "Lied an den Mond" alone,¹ and some twenty to Kleist's "Letztes Lied,"² we must realize that the author could not possibly treat thousands of poems in similar manner within the compass of five hundred pages. But certainly he gives us the highlights and more. To the initiated he offers rich inspiration and many new points of view; to the novice his book must be a revelation.

Closs is above all a specialist in the literature of the Seventeenth Century. With the remarkable Priebisch collection in his possession, he has access to one of the finest extant libraries in this field. It is no wonder, then, that the section on Opitz and the baroque lyric should be particularly rich. Perhaps it goes too far in this respect for a work written in the English language, for readers to whom even Mörike and Rilke, not to mention Opitz, Hofmannswaldau and Spee, are books with seven seals. Be that as it may, Closs's treatment of the baroque lyric is the best we have yet seen anywhere. Ten characteristics seem to stand out in his study of it. The baroque lyricist 1) is not interested in character description, 2) takes an artificial attitude toward life, 3) isolates objects from their cosmic relationship, 4) recognizes no harmony of body and soul, 5) lives in the present; 6) his emotion is chained by reason; 7) he indulges in a superfluity of words and objects; 8) he has a fondness for rhetoric, 9) a mania for quotation, and 10) a weakness for synesthesia.

English and American readers will perhaps be shocked by the treatment accorded to their favorite Heine. Goethe, Hölderlin, and Mörike are rated more highly. Heine's character and attitude toward life are called "disrupted," he is styled a journalist and accused of indulging in mere masquerade and obvious legerdemain.

¹ Josef Körner, *Goethes Mondlied. Ein Deutungsversuch*. "Preussische Jahrbücher: Schriftenreihe," Band XXV. Berlin: Verlag von Georg Stilke, 1936. See the present writer's review in the *Germanic Review*, XII, 3 (July, 1937), pp. 212 ff.

² *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LVIII (1933), pp. 286 ff.

But if we bear in mind that Heine has been overrated by most English-speaking critics (with some prominent exceptions such as D. H. Lawrence), we must admit that Closs here performs his bit of salutary debunking.

On general principles there may be some question as to whether it is wise to detach the lyric from other closely related genres, and whether this does not make for artificiality and schematism. Writers noted for their various facets, Hebbel, Keller, and Storm for instance, can hardly be expected to receive full justice in a work devoted to the lyric alone. This is unfortunate in the case of an English book which will fall into the hands of intelligent readers who lack the prerequisites for profiting by its special detachment—prerequisites enjoyed only by those who already know of Hebbel's dramatic greatness and of Keller's and Storm's epic eminence. Similarly we wonder if it would not have been feasible to break down the strictly literary barriers which the book sets up and to consider the musical settings of the more important lyrics, too, at least in an appendix. For many laymen it has become extremely difficult to think of almost any famous lyric of Goethe, Heine, or Mörike without benefit of Schubert, Schumann, or Wolff.

One thing is certain. Thanks to this remarkable work, rich in independent judgment and the first comprehensive study of the German lyric in any language, we are now much closer to answering the ultimate question as to what constitutes the characteristics (Closs calls them the metaphysical and formal values) of the German lyric. German literature is fortunate indeed in having such a book bestowed upon it. The reviewer knows of no comparable study for the English or French lyric.

Eight plates adorn the work. A selected bibliography of seventeen pages and an index are a valuable conclusion to a volume which, we are certain, will long prove both useful and inspirational.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

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Briefe an August Hermann Francke. Mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen. Herausgegeben von THEODOR GEISSENDOERFER. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1939. Pp. 223. \$3.00.

This book represents a real labor of love on the editor's part, for it is clear that only a keen personal interest could have induced him to take the really extraordinary pains that are evident on every page. Not only did he go to very considerable trouble to complete the letters of Francke's mother, but he has packed into his learned footnotes (over 700 of them) an immense amount of information regarding the persons and happenings referred to in the letters. Even those notes which record a failure to get the data sought are

eloquent of the efforts, however frustrated, that preceded the final disappointment.

A brief but informative introduction explains the inception of the project and the general method followed, and comments on some of the letter-writers and the intrinsic interest of their messages. There follow then the 177 letters of the collection, grouped by writers—the largest number from one person is 70, comprising all the known letters from Anna Franckin to her son—and interpreted not only by footnotes but by a succinct introduction to each group. The writers of the letters include other relatives, Johann Michael Hempel, Heinrich Westphal, Michael Alberti, Christoph Friedrich Mickwitz, Johann Loder, and some others. It requires an index of over 6 pages to list all the names mentioned in the letters and notes.

The value of the book will be greatest for scholars working in the fields of Pietism and 18th century civilization in Germany; the letters thus made available to workers along these lines contain a vast amount of source material, and afford intimate and unvarnished pictures of actual life in their day. I am not sure that the editor was well advised to leave the Latin letters of Hempel untranslated; but the translation would have caused many and perhaps insuperable difficulties.

The printing of such a book is no easy matter, and both printer and editor may be congratulated on their achievement. I noted but two misprints, and those not serious (hindruch, p. 11; Tätigkeit, p. 183).

An engraved portrait of Francke serves as frontispiece.

BAYARD QUINCY MORGAN

Stanford University

German Lyrics of the Seventeenth Century. A Miscellany. By A. CLOSS and W. F. MAINLAND. London: Duckworth, 1940. Pp. 94. 6s.

Interest in the Baroque tradition and spirit is one of the characteristic features of our restless age: the great Reclam series does not differ in any one respect more signally from the old Kürschner collection than in its emphasis on Baroque literature in Germany. We have come to realise more and more that the 17th century, so seemingly barren and uninviting in its literary productions, held in it the germ of the 18th century, which cannot be fully understood without its forerunner.

There is then a natural demand for textual material which can be put into the hands of the student and serve as a basis for discussions of the typical phenomena of the German Baroque. It is to meet this demand that the editors have prepared their little book. By careful disposition of their limited space, they have managed to

bring in no less than 51 different authors, besides a few anonymous poems. The texts are quoted from mostly early and often rare sources, and are given with scrupulous fidelity (in some cases correcting Cysarz in the Reclam series) as to orthography, punctuation, and even the misprints that are themselves something of a Baroque feature. The appearance of the printed page is reproduced as far as possible, including such oddities as Zesen's "Palm-baum" on p. 33, or the facsimile of Schottel's "Pocal" to face p. 34. Mention should also be made of the frontispiece, an engraved head by M. Merian (1649, very rare) of a distinguished looking gentleman which when reversed is seen as a death's head; appropriate citations interpret the two complementary designs.

As far as the teacher is concerned, he will not find much pre-digested material in this anthology. Notes have been kept to the minimum, and the useful little introduction of seven pages merely sketches in the background and sets forth the editors' general point of view. A chronological table, giving significant literary and other dates from 1587 (Spies's *Faustbuch*, and the birth of Vondel) to the birth of Kant and Klopstock in 1724, will help to place the authors cited in their proper time-frame. For the rest, teacher and student are referred to Closs's *Genius of the German Lyric*, which contains "a detailed commentary on movements and motifs, as well as upon individual poems."

Within their self-imposed limits, the authors seem to me to have done an excellent piece of work. However, I rather deplore the narrowness of these limits, and should have liked to see a larger editorial responsibility assumed. In particular, I should advocate a brief selective bibliography (partly critical, perhaps); a glossary of the rarer words and phrases (even Cysarz makes that concession to his readers); and some further information as to the principles underlying the selections actually made. Finally, as to textual accuracy, which the editors observe and which Cysarz strongly advocates: A comparison of Opitz's "Lob des Feldtlebens" in this and Cysarz's collection (printed from different sources) reveals many discrepancies, mostly of minor character. In view of this divergence, of which the editors must have been aware, I think they should have devoted some space in their introduction to this entire problem, pointing out that the value of such accuracy lies not in the individual form, but in the total impression of teeming and somewhat amorphous life that the texts as a whole convey. A note of this character might easily be appended to the volume as it stands.

BAYARD QUINCY MORGAN

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[Reprinted from *Modern Language Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 3, September, 1940.]

Dickens' Works in Germany, 1837-1937. By ELLIS N. GUMMER.
Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. 200.

In the introduction the author says:

An attempt is made with this book to present a wide critical survey of Dickens' reception, popularity, and influence in Germany during the century following the appearance of his first novel in German translation. Some aspects of this subject have been examined by earlier investigators, but there existed nothing to which the English student of Dickens or of German literature could turn for a comprehensive survey of the field.

All serious or even tentative investigators know that the last assertion is true, and the most exacting critic must admit that Gummer has acquitted himself well of the task of supplying the need.

First an interesting introduction sketches "Dickens' personal relations with Germany"; the work is then divided into three main parts: I. "Dickens' reception in Germany"; II. "Dickens' influence on the German novel"; III. "The after-fame of Dickens in Germany, later criticism and popularity 1870-1937." For the convenient reference of the investigators Gummer has further provided "A list of German critical works on Dickens 1870-1937," Appendix I. "List of articles on Dickens in German periodicals 1837-1870"; Appendix II. "Notes on some early German translators of Dickens' works" also a "General bibliography," a "Chronological list of Dickens' major works," and an index. A hundred years have passed since Dickens first began to make his personality felt in Germany and the author has put forth an obvious effort to make his work "abschliessend."

From Part I it becomes evident that, of the contemporary critics, Julian Schmidt, Gustav Freytag, and Otto Ludwig had the clearest conceptions of the potential value of Dickens' novels to German literature. Part II begins with a well considered chapter on "The nature of Dickens' influence in Germany," the first part of which takes up the theme in its relation to social conditions, the latter part in its relation to the development of the technique of German novelistic composition. Whoever is content to learn merely the gist of the entire investigation should read this brief but admirable essay. The succeeding chapters of Part II deal with the influence of Dickens on specific German novelists. Here Gummer was not without predecessors. For Freytag he had Freymond, Ulrich, and Völk; for Otto Ludwig he had Luder, Löhre, and Otto Ludwig himself; for Raabe, Geissendorfer, Doernenburg, and Fehse; for Reuter, Geist; for Spielhagen, Skinner, and for Frenssen, de Wyzewa and Church. Gummer has, however, read the works of all these German novelists before modifying and supplementing the conclusions of the intermediate critics. Some of the chapters are chiefly revisions of the work of his predecessors. Other chapters, notably those on Spielhagen and Frenssen, are based almost entirely on Gummer's pioneer investigations.

Part III, "The after-fame of Dickens in Germany," is divided into three chapters dealing with the periods 1870-1900, 1901-1916, and 1919-1937 respectively. It is easier, however, to distinguish two phases, during the earlier of which John Forster with his *Life of Dickens* was the standard authority and a later one to which Dibelius gave the tone with his *Englische Romankunst*, 1910, and his *Charles Dickens*, 1916.

The whole account takes us back to a fabulous age beginning a short hundred years ago when the humane humour of Charles Dickens struck a responsive note in German hearts because of its "Gemütlichkeit" and "Behaglichkeit."

LAWRENCE M. PRICE

University of California

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European Balladry. By WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939. Pp. x+404. \$4.50.

Having gained a solid reputation among Hispanists by numerous books and articles on Spanish language and literature, Mr. Entwistle, Professor of Spanish Studies in the University of Oxford, has now published a book whose title will attract the attention of all students of literature. *European Balladry* does not comprise merely the half-dozen better known literatures in which a scholar of broad linguistic training and cosmopolitan taste might expect to find himself on more or less familiar ground; it is a comprehensive, comparative study of all European balladries, in a score of languages and many dialects. Primarily a student of Spanish ballads, he looked to the recognized authorities in other ballad literatures for aid in the solution of certain problems pertaining to ballads in general; but their inferences and theories were at such variance with each other and with those of leading Hispanists that he finally decided to make a personal study of all European balladries, in spite of the Herculean nature of the task. A symposium of experts would not do; approaching the central themes from many angles, they would not give him definite, consistent answers to his questions. Unity and consistency demanded that all the material should pass through one mind, and the very essence of the inquiry was "that the questions should be kept simple and always asked in the same sense." (P. IX.)

The results of his investigations are presented in two books of several chapters and many subdivisions. Book I, "Ballads in General," discusses the universality of ballad composition, the main groupings of European ballads, their origin and development, definition and differentiation from other types of popular poetry, common characteristics and regional or national peculiarities, methods of presentation, ballad music, classification on the basis of content, relation between ballads and epic poetry, migration of ballad themes, their influence on other types of literature. Book II, "Ballads in

Particular," presents a survey, or rather a series of surveys, of the ballad literatures of a score of countries, grouped under the four headings, Romance, Nordic, Balkan and Russian Ballads, each larger group being then divided into national units for special discussion.

The following summaries and generalizations, selected from many, may serve to give some idea of the nature of the study.

Rejecting the commonly accepted definitions as erroneous or inadequate, Mr. Entwistle defines the ballad as "any short traditional narrative poem sung, with or without accompaniment or dance, in assemblies of the people." (Pp. 16-17.) This seems to be a broadly comprehensive definition; it would exclude, however, many popular ballads in which the lyrical element is more in evidence than the narrative.

Commenting on the common characteristics of ballads of all nations, he says: "The area covered by balladry is vast and the period since they first appeared in the twelfth century is long, yet their unity as a literary type is convincing. The same or similar subjects recur in them all, the same situations, the same rejection of claim to authorship, the same instinctive response by the unlettered audience to the often blind and illiterate singer, and even the same reward for the entertainer—"un vaso de bon vino." (P. 17.)

His opinion regarding the relative worth of various ballad literatures will not strike the same responsive chord in all his readers: "The Spanish, Danish, Serbian, and Russian. . . have the most marked individuality, the most uniform usage, and the greatest aesthetic value."

Anonymity is characteristic of ballads generally; but this and their popularity are no longer taken as proof of the so-called communal origin theory. Ballads were not the product of the community working as a creator; each ballad had its author and its moment of birth. Artistic creation presupposes an individual poet; and the information we possess regarding the composition of many popular ballads offers direct proof of individual effort. The name of the author was soon lost, however, and the ballad, becoming common property, became *popular*, a ballad of the people. It belonged henceforth to each reciter, "to shorten, extend, mingle with others, and transmit. Once launched, the ballad is everybody's possession. Personal or local details will be pared away; situations, motives, and characters will be generalized. . . ." (P. 29.)

Chapters III and IV, "Performance and Tunes," discuss at length ballad music. A ballad is not a ballad except when sung, and ballad collections are incomplete if no attempt has been made to record and preserve the original tunes. Collections without accompanying music may be enjoyed as literature, and there is no indissoluble connection between the tune and the words; it is regrettable, however, that so little attention has been given by collectors to the original music. The difficulties are great for collectors and readers;

but they are not insurmountable, and in many countries today there is a growing realization of the importance of collecting original tunes along with the words of ballads. Mr. Entwistle offers practical suggestions for the recording of ballad music according to a system based, with important modifications, on that used by Professor Hustvedt of the University of California at Los Angeles in his *Melodic Index of Child's Ballad Tunes*, Berkeley, 1936.

Chapter V classifies ballads on the basis of content: epic material treated episodically and from a local rather than a national viewpoint; historical incidents similarly treated; classical legends, religious themes taken from the Bible or church history; stories of adventure, realistically human or fantastically supernatural; stories of love or hate with infinite variety of situation and motive. In the dating of the earliest ballads of each country, most of the evidence is to be found naturally in ballads dealing with historical incidents; in Spain, because of the unique relation between the oldest ballads and epic poetry, the epic ballads supply more evidence of the date of composition than the historical ballads. As a type of poetic composition the ballad is distinctly medieval, beginning in most countries in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Chapter VI, "How Ballads Spread," describes and explains, with much illustrative material, the free migrations of ballad themes from country to country, resulting in a veritable commonwealth of ballad literature. Generally speaking, central countries, France, Germany, Denmark, Greece, Serbia, supply the major part of themes to the common stock. "The linguistic obstacle is overcome by the shading of dialects into each other, thus effecting a gradual change of language. . ." (P. 77.)

Chapter VII, "The Descent of Ballads," makes a direct attack upon the most baffling of ballad problems, the question of the origin of the *genre*. It reviews and dismisses as untenable the old theory that epic ballads preceded epic poems and supplied them with their form and content. Simpler songs may well have preceded the more complex; but ballads, as we know them, came into existence after the decadence of epic poetry. The ballad theory of epic origins had long been disproved in so far as Spain is concerned; the reverse process, the fragmentation of late epics into ballads, is now generally though not universally accepted. Not only does Mr. Entwistle consider this theory the most plausible, albeit with some misgivings because of the meagerness of definite proof; he carries the fragmentation idea over into other ballad literatures and finds considerable confirmatory material. This evidence, though inconclusive, weakens one of the main arguments usually advanced against the fragmentation theory for Spanish ballads, namely, the lack of analogy in other ballad literatures.

In the following chapter, the "Ascent of Ballads," our author is on more solid ground, and his appraisal of the importance of ballads in universal literature will not seem excessive to those who have

felt their peculiar charm. In some literatures, mainly those that are notably nationalistic, Spanish for example, they contributed largely to the main literary current as early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; in others, their influence was not fully felt until the coming of Romanticism. "Since the coming of Romanticism the debt of literature to the ballad has been comparable to that of the Renaissance to the Greek and Latin classics; the Renaissance demanded enrichment of style or thought, Romanticism brought rejuvenation" (p. 119). And rejuvenation was due, to a large extent, to the newly discovered popular ballads.

Book II (pp. 132-380) presents the ballad literatures in large groups and in national or regional units. The most extensive treatment is that of Spanish ballads, perhaps for the same reason that disproportionate space is given to them in this review; or perhaps because Mr. Entwistle considers them more worthy of attention than the ballads of any other country. "Unsurpassed in Europe for their number, vigor, influence, dramatic tendency, and veracity" (p. 152), the *romances*, considered collectively, form the *romancero*, "a uniform body of narrative verse, severely objective in manner and capable of traditional survival. Similar masses of verse exist in Denmark and Serbia, but neither the *viser* nor the *junacke pesme* have given rise to a collective term covering all their ballads." (P. 153.)

Comparing Spanish ballads with those of other countries, he gives poetic translations, wholly or in part, of fifteen ballads; all but one, a famous translation by Lord Byron, are due to his own efforts, and are notable mainly for the attempt, not entirely successful, to imitate the assonance of the originals. Merely as poetry, they are not so good as some of the versions by well-known English translators; but they do give a more adequate idea of the Spanish ballads.

The rest of the volume, almost two hundred pages, surveys the balladries of North, Central and Eastern Europe. Similarities and differences among the various literatures form a running commentary that keeps the reader from getting wholly lost in a maze of details.

The author's invasion of so many distinct fields of scholarship may seem to some a rash undertaking, but the evident mastery and skilful handling of the Romance and English material inspire confidence in his ability to find his way about in foreign lands. Most of his readers will have to accept much on faith; and the amount of faith in each reader will depend upon his appraisal of the treatment of the particular ballad literature with which he himself happens to be familiar. Errors of statement and inference will be discovered by the experts; and of course many ballad problems have not been solved. All, however, who have felt the charm of popular ballads, and the experts in limited fields of ballad literature, will find in *European Balladry* an enlightening, suggestive book, amazing in its breadth of scholarship.

GEORGE W. UMPHREY

University of Washington

Benserade and His "Ballets de Cour." By CHARLES I. SILIN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940. Pp. 435. Paper \$4.00, cloth \$4.50. (Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literature and Languages, Extra Volume XV.)

Professor Silin's book is an eminently worthy contribution to the Johns Hopkins Studies. The author never loses from view the fact that his poet is not of the first order, however highly considered in his day, and the material that he presents about him and from his poems he frequently prefaces with his reasons for giving it. Such a sense of proportion is pleasing. The reader feels himself conducted by a skillful as well as erudite guide through the complexities of the subject. If the author aimed to offer a readable book as well as an authoritative contribution to his field he has succeeded. Indeed the reader is surprised to come upon an occasional colloquialism in text or footnote.

The book is in two parts, each with an introduction, the first part covering the life of Benserade, the early years, the Court Poet, the Academician, the last years; the second part presenting a detailed treatment of the Court Ballets for which Benserade wrote the verses and whose dates range from 1651 (*Ballet de Cassandre*) to 1681 (*Ballet Royal du Triomphe de l'Amour*.) It must be admitted that there is some tedium for the reader in the second part of the book, chiefly because of the monotonous similarity of the ballets themselves, the reappearance of the same Fauns, Satyrs, Zephyrs, Shepherds, Bohemians, and so forth.

There emerges in the first part of the book a full-length portrait of the poet himself, a well-built man of reddish hair, connected with the Court at an earlier date than has previously been supposed. We see the poet's interest in the *filles d'honneur* and are given a taste of his poetic cajolery with that group whose personnel was frequently changing, owing to marriage, and who therefore offered the poet much variety and incentive for his verses: "*Belles dont les regards vont dépeupler l'Etat . . .*"

Louis XIV is shown dancing in a ballet at the age of thirteen, and in later ballets taking as many as sixty different rôles. The poet had a sincere admiration for the glory and graceful bearing of his young King.

In the years before 1661, Benserade ranked with Voiture and Corneille in the judgement of many of his contemporaries. He was in great favor at Court and with the King himself. His doings and sayings were the delight of gazetteers, and his jokes and epigrams abound in the correspondence of his day. The author examines the claim of his poet to such distinction with some severity.

Here is a poetry of little real feeling but of much clever railery, and indeed Benserade must have been regarded as a terror by his contemporaries, though his natural grace and playfulness won excuse for his audacity. The author finds it a poetry wretched and

insipid to the modern reader and lacking in real poetic value. That Benserade was regarded as a great poet is "a sad commentary on his age rather than a fair index of his worth."

Of chief interest in Benserade's poetry is the nascent psychology that comes to its full growth in the *vers aux personnages* of the ballets. "He blended into one coherent type the character in the ballet and the dancer representing it." In Perrault's words, "le coup portoit sur le personnage, et le contre-coup sur la personne, ce qui donnoit double plaisir." Thus we have a documentation of character for all the leading members of the Court; we see the gallantry of Guise, the laziness of Villeroy, the industry for the King's pleasures of Saint-Aignan, the grace of young Mlle. de La Vallière. His best compliment, after his praise of the King, goes to Madame, appearing as Diana:

Diane dans les bois, Diane dans les Cieux,
Diane enfin brille en tous lieux,
Elle est de l'Univers la seconde lumière . . .

The author claims that Benserade, through the *vers aux personnages*, almost succeeded in raising the court-ballet to the level of a literary genre, a cautious claim indeed. He also claims that his poet reigned supreme in the ballet for thirty years. But the success of the ballets as a whole must have owed as much to the music of a Lully and to the organization of a Saint-Aignan as to the verses of Benserade. Credit is given to these other collaborators, but hardly enough in the present reviewer's opinion. One might wish too for more comparison with the ballets of Molière, which receive provocative mention, but only in a few places.

If the detailed treatment of the ballets of Benserade reads less interestingly than one had expected from the first part of the book, the Introduction to this second part is a well-handled and thorough investigation of the ballet's evolution as a genre or near-genre.

It is a curious world that unfolds before us, an aspect of Louis XIV's reign that it is important not to forget. Perhaps the final impression which Professor Silin's book leaves with the reader is that of a grandiose reign, a great king and his brilliant court sliding off into Gilbert and Sullivan, but a Gilbert and Sullivan still of the 17th century. "Ingenious and delicate, gallant and witty, facile and graceful, amiable and frivolous, he (Benserade) seems to have been born expressly for the *ballet de cour*."

E. L. LOUGHNAN

Brown University

Nuovi Canti Carnascialeschi del Rinascimento con un Appendice: Tavola generale dei Canti carnaleschi editi ed inediti. By CHARLES S. SINGLETON. Modena: Soc. Tip. Modenese, 1940.

This selection supplements the editor's *Canti Carnascialeschi del Rinascimento* (Scrittori d'Italia), Bari, Laterza, 1936. Although the resulting collection is not complete, Professor Singleton explains that it does contain all those *canti* which, in his opinion, deserve publication. For those interested in a more exhaustive study of the genre, there is an invaluable index of the *capoversi* of all the *canti*, both in print and in manuscript.

In his Preface Professor Singleton calls attention to two important considerations which justify a detailed study of the *canto carnalesco*, its social implications and its linguistic value. It is true that these songs, with few exceptions, offer little of poetic worth, but this lack hardly warrants neglect of the genre. The *trionfo* and the *canto carnalesco* evolve from the religious spectacle and seem to be a secular reaction both to the spirit of the *sacre rappresentazioni* and to the stiff neo-platonism of humanistic letters.

According to Savanarola the obscene *trionfi* were glorified by an astute dictator to divert his subjects' minds from their impending ruin. Whether this indictment is true or not, it is a fact that the songs which always attended the *trionfi* mirror the libertinage of the age. They show a definite laxity in the marital relationship. The crude innuendo is addressed to married women, not to unmarried ones. In his dedicatory letter to Francesco de' Medici Il Lasca says that these lavish productions were enjoyed by the entire population of Florence and that even young girls stood peering behind their shutters to watch the fun and, we may add, to listen to a jargon which they knew to be indecent, but which was not quite intelligible to them.

Not all the *canti* are concerned with bringing licentious love into the open street, for many are piously allegorical and sincerely didactic. As a genre, the *canto carnalesco* loyally portrays the varying and contradictory moods of the Renaissance.

This second selection of *canti* includes a thirteen page Glossary which is a useful aid in deciphering the popular speech of the time. In addition, the editor has undertaken the difficult and thankless task of listing words with double meaning. Some may rightfully question the advisability of pointing out words having patent phallic imagery, and others will wish to know why only part of this vocabulary is included.

Professor Singleton is to be congratulated for correcting the vitiated texts of the *canti carnaleschi* in a thoroughly scholarly manner, for clearing a path for further research, and for bringing into the open many provocative questions.

D. P. ROTUNDA

Mills College

Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy: 1587-1642. By FREDSON THAYER BOWERS. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. viii+288. \$3.00.

In spite of all that has been said in one way or another about Elizabethan revenge tragedies, a book like Professor Bowers' *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy* was waiting to be written. It was time to take a new view and a whole view of a subject that has suffered somewhat from standardization of scholarly comment and from limitation of critical approach. The view that Professor Bowers takes in his book was well worth the labor of presentation. And his presentation is well done.

After two introductory chapters dealing with such background as the code of revenge, religious and legal condemnations of private revenge, the blood-revenge of Senecan tragedy, and the features of "Italianate" vengeance, Professor Bowers writes a history of Elizabethan revenge tragedy, giving close attention to ethical as well as technical dramatic developments. It is not surprising that he is more thought-provoking in his consideration of the ethical, for it was here that he had most chance of saying something new. He benefits by the notable researches into the Elizabethan mind that have recently been made. Beginning with Kyd he follows the course of revenge tragedy through four well-marked periods, the characteristics of which are indicated by four chapter headings: "The School of Kyd," "Interlude: The Reign of the Villain," "The Disapproval of Revenge," and "The Decadence of Revenge Tragedy."

The author provides his own summary of the argument concerning ethical development from the first to the third of these periods:

The early, or Kydian, tragedy of revenge had presented a hero-revenger who, forced by his overwhelming duty and outraged passion into too bloody courses, had lost all ethical adjustment to normal life and was eventually forced to pay the penalty in death. The necessarily treacherous and evil course of his revenge soon produced the feeling that he could not have been a good man even at the start, and we have such bad revengers in a good cause as Hoffman, Vindici, Maximus, and Francisco. The natural transition was thereupon made to the convention that revenge was the prerogative of villains alone, as exemplified in the villain plays *The Turk* and *Women Beware Women*. The realization grew, however, that good men did revenge, and that there still remained dramatic material in showing the results of their departure from heavenly and earthly laws on a practical plane of morality. . . . The justice of revenge was occasionally recognized but also its harms and cruelties in a social as well as a personal sense. *The White Devil*, *The Changeling*, *The Roman Actor*, *The Cruel Brother*, *The Broken Heart*, and *Love's Sacrifice* all in one way or another portray this feeling.

The argument is as orderly as the summary would lead us to expect. The reader may at times protest to himself that things are not quite so simple or contrasts quite so neat as the author makes them, but even then he will probably be thankful for an aid to understanding. For example, in the pursuit of a contrast which undoubt-

edly exists between the first and second periods, Professor Bowers shows much critical penetration, but is led to condemn perhaps too strongly the old criticism that Kyd and his school were "amoral," that is, essentially uninterested in the ethical problems of life in general and of revenge in particular. The truth, I believe, is that Kyd himself and some of his followers do not have very much profound seriousness. When Professor Bowers characterizes the tragedy of the school of Kyd as "fundamentally moral and philosophical in its treatment," and says that "the sacred duty of blood-revenge lent a semi-religious tone to the plays, and the atmosphere was correspondingly serious," he seems to me to be overstating the case. There was a vital Elizabethan background of moral seriousness, which he has studied to good purpose, but the acceptance of that background for dramatic uses was often passive and casual rather than active and creatively searching.

Even Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, philosophical as it is in general tone, is not "fundamentally moral and philosophical" so far as matters which raise the Christian problem of private vengeance are concerned. Never once does Hamlet discover that his duty to his father to take revenge is opposed by his Christian duty to God to refrain from taking revenge. (Surely one need not stop to argue that Hamlet is an Elizabethan Christian, even with all his doubts and questions.) Never once does Hamlet show consciousness that the God who "fixed his canon 'gainst self-slaughter" also fixed it against private vengeance. There was plenty of Elizabethan discussion of the sin involved in private vengeance, and yet Shakespeare did not make the subject of this discussion a part of the Hamlet problem, as a Christian Aeschylus might have done with powerful effect. For a dramatist who was so soon to write the tragedy of the Christian sinner Macbeth this was a rather strange rejection of opportunity. Perhaps the answer is that Shakespeare inherited *Hamlet* from Kyd and that he merely accepted certain shortcomings in the serious implications of the story. But we do not have much to go upon when we give the *Ur-Hamlet* to Kyd, even though Professor Bowers is strong in the belief that it is the more important part of Kyd's pioneering in revenge tragedy and that its date "may be set with fair certainty as approximately 1587," well before that of the *Spanish Tragedy*. It does no harm to remember the warning of Sir Edmund Chambers that we safely know nothing about the *Ur-Hamlet* except that there was a ghost in it, who cried "Hamlet, revenge!"

WILLARD FARNHAM

University of California

The Life and Work of William Gilpin. By WILLIAM D. TEMPLETON. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1939. Pp. 336.

When Combe had his impoverished Dr. Syntax resolve, as a means of improving his state, to "ride and write, and sketch and print," to "prose it here, [and] verse it there, and picturesque it ev'rywhere," he paid his respects to an aesthetic movement in which the dominant figure was the schoolmaster and vicar, William Gilpin.

The importance of this movement and of the theory behind it (the theory of the picturesque) has been made clear by Christopher Hussey, Elizabeth Manwaring, and others. It influenced painting, landscape architecture, literature, the very mores of the peripatetic English gentry. It became not only impossible to paint a picture without reference to picturesque principles; it was equally impossible to take a walk.

This is generally known. The part Gilpin played in producing this state of affairs is less widely recognized—perhaps partially because Cowper's fictitious John has cast a shade upon the real William. And even for those who associate the name with the theory, Gilpin the man has remained a relatively obscure figure. He was, for one thing, a *good* man and therefore out of range of notoriety's Klieg lights. He was not promiscuous in his amours, he had no share in affairs of state, he cut no figure in *The Town*.

For this reason Mr. Templeton's book fills a need. It is not fitting that the man called by the *Monthly Review* "the venerable founder and master of the Picturesque School" should be neglected because he lived a serene life. Professor Templeton shows clearly that Gilpin was "master" of the school and adduces new evidence which indicates that he was actually its "founder" (that is, the first to publish an important work on the picturesque), an honor given by Manwaring to Dr. John Brown.

Gilpin's life, though quiet, was full. He was biographer, critic of prints, schoolmaster, vicar, and author of moral tracts as well as authority on the picturesque. As schoolmaster he introduced methods far in advance of his times. His *Essay upon Prints* was liberally quoted and plagiarized in England, France, Germany, and Holland.

All these aspects of Gilpin's life are fully delineated in this biography. The book is well-indexed, and the bibliography is both complete and well-arranged. It is not and probably was not intended to be a book of wide appeal; the style is that of a doctoral dissertation later expanded for publication. It is, none the less, a valuable book of reference, for it very adequately fills up one more blank space in the background history of our "excellent and indispensable" eighteenth century.

CLARK EMERY

Oregon State College

Orion and Other Anonymous and Hitherto Unpublished Poems Attributed to John Keats. Edited by BRISTOL WILLIAMS. Webster Groves, Missouri. The International Mark Twain Society, 1939.

Here is a remarkable book. At first glance it appears to be one of the great discoveries in recent years. For it contains two long poems, thirteen sonnets and two other brief poems attributed to Keats—poems hitherto unpublished and, most important of all, unknown. Such a book cannot be ignored. The very title forces the Keats scholar to look long and eagerly, with the excitement of a man who has stumbled upon buried treasure.

Avidly curious, he begins to ask questions: Where were these poems found? By whom? By what authority are they attributed to Keats? And in searching for the answers he learns only that the book is more remarkable for its editor than for its contents. The ordinary scholar, unearthing such treasure, would go slightly mad; he would trace lovingly every detail of the discovery; he would base his conclusions upon exhaustive research into the history of the manuscripts, and upon internal analysis of the poems; he would see this as the opportunity to review the whole history of Keats scholarship "in the light of new findings"; and he would gain, if not fame and fortune, at least scholarly recognition. But not Mr. Williams, who evidently "breathes human passion far above." In his modest two-page introduction, he withstands every temptation of the scholar. And this restraint, considering the claims of the book, is not merely abnormal, it is incomprehensible. Let me quote those portions relevant to the discovery of the poems:

These poems, remarkably similar to those of John Keats, are offered here, pending further expert opinion, as the work of an anonymous author. They have, in fact, been *attributed* to the great Georgian himself.

Although they are *supposed* to have been discovered among miscellaneous papers of George Keats, the poet's brother . . . *opinion* on them generally has been based upon the style and poetic excellence of the work itself, rather than upon tradition.

The poems had, it *seems*, lain forgotten many years, and have only recently *been made available* for publication from material of which there remains much of an equally interesting nature awaiting transcription.

Assuming them to be authentic, there are *grounds* for the belief that some of the poems had been sent to the younger Keats, with a view to his securing an American publisher for them, doubtless occasioned by the uncharitable attitude in England toward the author. Other poems very likely were in his possession at the time of his removal to America. . . .

In presenting these poems to the public for the first time, we do so in the hope that they will be found of sufficient interest to warrant their issuance—an obligation we have assumed solely in order that the authenticity of the poems be definitely determined.

I have italicised those words and phrases which indicate either that the editor is deliberately withholding important information or, more baffling still, that he does not have the information. Immediately the question arises: Why, if he considered these poems im-

portant enough to publish, did he write such an introduction? For he must have known that it could succeed only in arousing suspicion.

Even a superficial investigation reveals that any evidence for the authenticity of the poems must come from the editor himself. For I have found in no editor or critic of Keats from Milnes to Garrod any reference, direct or indirect, to the possible existence of such poems. And these men are the sort who consider no poem attributed to Keats beneath their notice; they mention it if only to reject it. It is possible, of course, that poems in the possession of George Keats (particularly sonnets) disappeared immediately after his death. But two of the poems in the present volume are nearly equal in length to "Hyperion" and "Isabella" respectively. Is it not strange that there is no reference to them in the extant letters of Keats, whose habit it was to gossip of his more ambitious projects; that Woodhouse—who collected his poems with fanatic zeal—never mentioned them; that, so far as I can determine, in the known remains of George Keats there is no hint of their existence? Clearly, to attain any hearing for his claims, Mr. Williams must produce evidence concerning the history of the manuscripts, and indicate their present location so that all who wish may examine them.

Before dismissing the claims of the editor, however, it is necessary to examine the poems themselves. Indeed, he says authoritatively that opinion on the poems generally has been based "upon the style and poetic excellence of the work itself"; and that "the greater portion . . . seems genuine, with here and there doubtful passages and expressions that tend to indicate additions by other hands." Unfortunately, an examination of the poems provides no support for claims either of authenticity or of excellence. The editor forgets to specify the doubtful passages; without his aid I can find no passage beyond doubt. The merits of the poems are such that, if any proved to be by Keats, they would be received with vociferous regret; they are worthy only of an imitator. Let me discuss briefly the two longer poems. They cannot be defended as early poems, for they contain to no noticeable extent the stylistic peculiarities of Keats's earlier works, including "Endymion." They could have been written, therefore, only after 1817, when Keats had reached full poetic maturity. The most damning evidence against them is that in subject and style they are strikingly similar to several of his greatest poems; and yet lack altogether the richness and boldness of expression characteristic of even his weakest poems. The first, "Orion," named by the editor (it was without title), is a fragmentary mythological poem in rimed couplets with occasional alexandrines. The incompleteness of the poem is due "both to illegibility and entirely missing portions." In subject and development it is a mosaic of scenes suggesting primarily "Endymion," and sometimes "Hyperion." It tells of the love of Cynthia for Orion

(who has recovered his sight), of the anger of Apollo, and of the accidental slaying of Orion by Cynthia through Apollo's contrivance. The basic ideas, the many descriptions of the moon, the love scenes between Orion and Cynthia—these are direct from "Endymion." We know Keats's opinion of "Endymion"—"I am anxious to get Endymion printed that I may forget it and proceed"; to believe that he would write a weak imitation of it is absurd. "Hyperion" is suggested by the description of the angry Apollo in his palace; often the parallel is exact to the point of plagiarism:

He rose, not meek and timorous as at dawn,
But with the fiery robes of mid-day on,
And up and down the empty courts he pac'd:
Though swiftly as he strode his passion rac'd
Before him still. High overhead there hung
Festoons of tressil'd light, a splendor clung
Upon the walls like to the west that glows
With all the tints of opal and of rose;
Aisle opening into aisle until they shone
One into the other, spreading from the throne
Like rays from the sun's self.¹

Of the style in general this may be said: it is conventional and uninspired. In the midst of long mediocre stretches rises some word or phrase used notably by Keats: "spangly," for example, or "far-spoom'd."² That such bold words occur so infrequently is further evidence, if it be needed, against the authenticity of the poem.

The second long poem is "The Tragic Tale," a retelling of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe in Spenserian stanzas. Says Mr. Williams cryptically, "It is rather a remarkable subject for one of Keats's known familiarity with 'Midsummer-Night's Dream.'" It is more remarkable for its striking resemblance, through over half its length, to "Isabella." It has a similarity in plot—the yearning of the two lovers for one another, their timidity in declaring their love, the greed and rivalry of their fathers are described at length. And it has a similarity in structure—the devices of repetition and parallelism are consistently used:

His pallid brow would flush when'er [*sic*] her name
Fell in soft accents from his trembling lips;
Her breast would rise like struggling wings, the same,
When by some happy chance his lov'd name slips
Through her young mouth as bubbling honey drips.³

And all that night no pillow knew his head:
And all that day no meat he took. . . .⁴

And they forgot the Gods in sordid greed;
Forgot to pray, broke every law divine. . . .⁵

¹ *Orion*, p. 14. Cf. "Hyperion," Bk. I, 11. 212 ff.

² In Keats it is "far-spooming": "Endymion," Bk. III, 1. 70.

³ *Orion*, p. 35. Cf. "Isabella," II, VII.

⁴ *Orion*, p. 40.

⁵ *Orion*, p. 41. Cf. "Isabella," LIII.

Throughout the poem verbal parallels recall "Lamia" and the "Eve of St. Agnes." "Lamia" is echoed, for example, by the "bubbling honey" of the above quotation; "His low voice ran Lightly among the leaves and blossoms rare"; and "As home she stole . . . Wetting her robes among the daffodils."⁶ And "The Eve of St. Agnes" is recalled by such lines as these: "Ages ago these lovers lov'd and di'd"; "her soul was shut in fragrant sleep"; her voice came "softer and sweeter still, a rose full bloom"; and by the storm which rages on the night the lovers flee.⁷ As can be seen even in these brief quotations, the poetry is everywhere inferior. In fact, at the climax of the poem when the lovers meet to plan their flight, the poetry falls into the great tradition set by *Sophonisba*. Pyramus is so struck by Thisbe's beauty that for a stanza and a half he can say only "O Thisbe, Thisbe" three times over, together with the variations, "O Thisbe, gentle Thisbe," and "Thisbe, my love." Next to the use of weak and often banal words and phrases, the constant struggle for the necessary rimes is most noticeable. All this betrays the author as either the uncertain beginner or the uninspired hack. In other words, all evidence points to the conclusion that this poem, like "Orion," is an imitation.

Of the sonnets little need be said. With one exception, "Doggerel for a Dog," they are on subjects already used by Keats. Says Mr. Williams, "The sonnets, with perhaps a single exception, may constitute some very early work." He does not indicate the exception; I cannot. I detect here and there, however, words and ideas found in his later poems. In phrasing the sonnets sometimes recall Keats's sonnets. "To Shakespeare," for example, begins: "Full many bards have down the ages sung";⁸ and "On the Sonnet" begins: "Of late the sonnet sweet. . . ."⁹ One of the two other short pieces is an "Ode" in the manner of "Bards of Passion and of Mirth." It is a long jingle beginning:

Muses Nine and Graces Three:—
Bacchus crown'd and on a spree . . .

In commenting upon it Mr. Williams shows himself possibly more remarkable as critic than as editor. In one sentence he reveals intimately his knowledge both of poetry and of Keats. This poem, he says, "deserves, in some opinions, to rank with the best odes in that particular verse-form which the author has left. Did he ever utter a clearer truth than that in the final couplet?" The final couplet is:

Muses Nine and Graces Three
Ye have lent your wings to me!

It is impossible on the basis of external and internal evidence to consider these poems authentic. If there is any truth in the

⁶ *Orion*, pp. 35, 44. Cf. "Lamia," 11. 64-65, 91, 184.

⁷ *Orion*, pp. 36, 34, 46. Cf. "Eve of St. Agnes," XLII, XXVII, XVI.

⁸ Cf. "How many bards gild the lapses of time."

⁹ Cf. "Sonnet on hearing the bagpipe"; "Sonnet on the Sonnet."

claim that they are from manuscripts of George Keats, possibly they were written by him. We know that he wrote verse. Possibly they are much later imitations. A more thorough examination, if warranted, would soon discover the truth. At present, speculation is fruitless and unnecessary. Whatever the purpose of the editor, he has succeeded only in teasing us out of thought.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

ENGLISH

Beowulf: The Oldest English Epic. [Translated into Alliterative Verse with a Critical Introduction by Charles W. Kennedy.] New York: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. lxx+121. \$1.65.

Boas, Frederick S. Christopher Marlowe: A Biographical and Critical Study. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. v+336. \$4.50.

Criswell, Elijah Harry. Lewis and Clark: Linguistic Pioneers. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Studies, XV, 2, 1940. Pp. v+102. \$1.00.

Nethercot, Arthur H. The Road to Tryermaine: A Study of the History, Background, and Purposes of Coleridge's *Christabel*. University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. ix+230. \$3.00.

Wordsworth, William. The White Doe of Rylstone. [A critical edition by Alice Pattee Comparetti.] Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. Cornell Studies in English, XXIX. Pp. 311. \$2.50.

FRENCH

Anseys de Mes. According to MS N (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3143). [Text, published for the first time in its entirety, with an Introduction by Herman J. Green.] Paris: Printed for the author by Les Presses Modernes at the Palais Royal. Pp. 458.

Bowman, Russell Keith. The Connections of the *Geste Des Loherains* with other French Epics and Mediaeval Genres. Published by the author: 549 W. 113th St., New York, 1940. Pp. vii+168.

- Chamard, Henri. *Histoire de la Pléiade, III*. Paris: Didier, 1940. Pp. viii+422.
- Hazard, Paul. *Quatres Etudes: Baudelaire; Romantiques; Sur un Cycle Poétique; L'Homme de Sentiment*. (Lectures given at Bryn Mawr under the Mary Flexner Lectureship in 1931.) New York: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. x+154. \$2.00.
- Zola, Emile. *Letters to J. Van Santen Kolff*. [Edited by Robert Judson Niess.] St. Louis, Mo.: Washington University Studies in Language and Literature No. 10, May, 1940. Pp. vii+57. \$1.00.

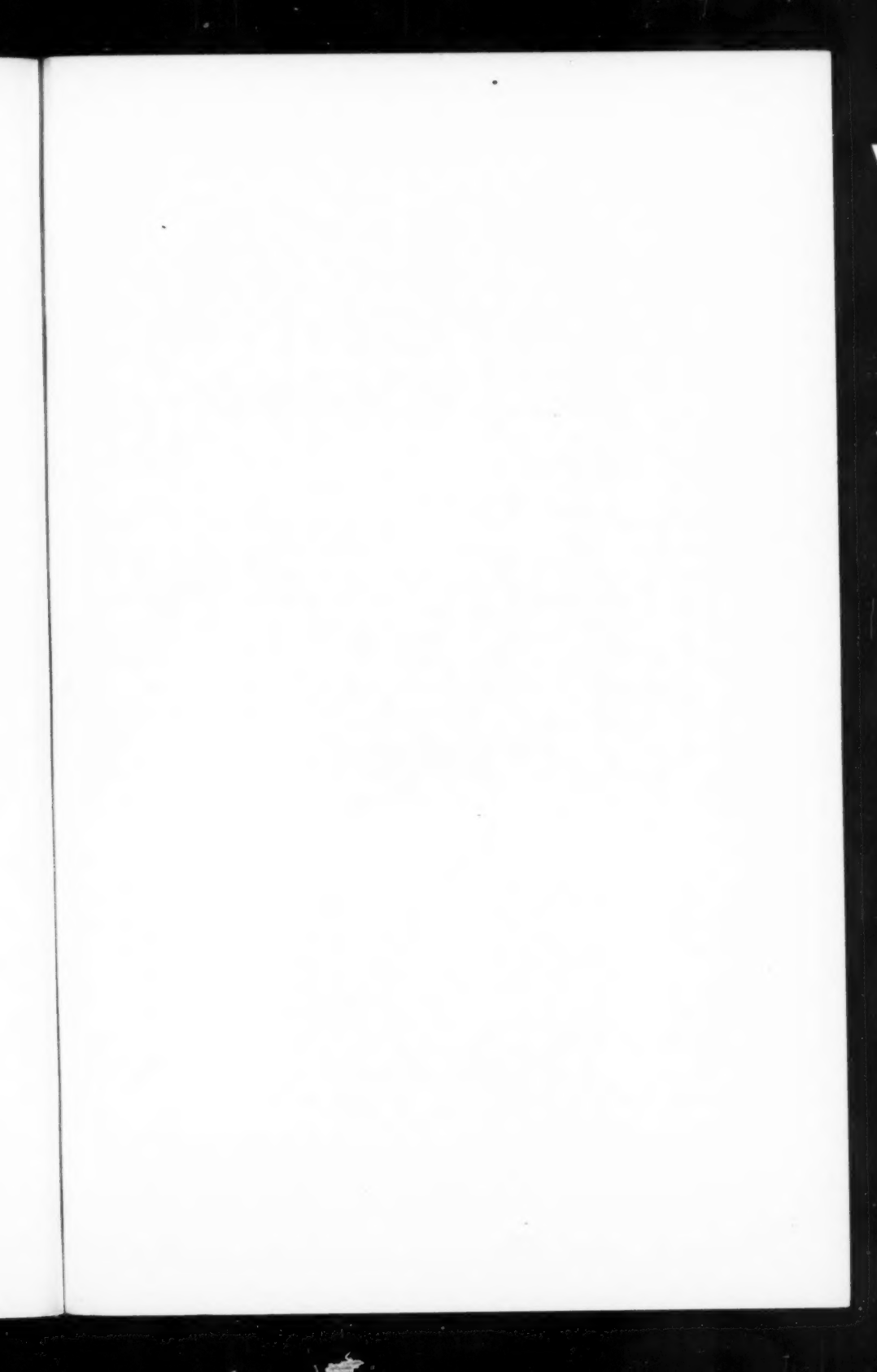
GERMAN

- Kaufmann, F. W. *German Dramatists of the 19th Century*. Los Angeles: Lymanhouse, 1940. Pp. vi+215. \$3.50.
- Priebsch, Robert. *Letter from Heaven on the Observance of the Lord's Day*. [Edited from the posthumous works of Robert Priebsch, by W. E. Collinson and August Closs.] Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936. Pp. 37.

SCANDINAVIAN

- Gustafson, Alrik. *Six Scandinavian Novelists*. Princeton University Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1940. Pp. 367. \$3.50.

NOTE: Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Latin-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.



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